AND THE

Late Revolution Justify'd,

BY THE

LAW of GOD, the LAW of NATURE,

AND THE

PRACTICE of All NATIONS.

BEING

A History of the Late King *JAMES*'s Reign, and a Discovery of His Arts, and Actions, for Introducing Popery and Arbitrary Power, and the Intended Subversion of the Protestant Interest in the Three Kingdoms:

AND

How that Design affected all *EUROPE*.

WHEREIN

All the Arguments against the REVOLUTION are fairly Propounded, and Candidly Answer'd; the Pretended Reasons against the Present SETTLEMENT Recited, and Modestly Refuted; and Obedience to King *WILLIAM*, and his Government, Legally and Religiously Asserted.

By *RIC. KINGST*

LONDON,
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MDCXCIX.

To the Right Honourable
WILLIAM, *Earl of* Portland, *Viſcount* Woodſtock *in the County of* Oxon, *Baron of* Cirenceſter *in the County of* Glouceſter, *Knight of the moſt Noble Order of the* Garter, *One of the Lieutenant-Generals of His Majeſty's Forces, Groom of the Stole, Firſt Gentleman of the King's Bed-Chamber, One of the Lords of His Majeſty's moſt Honourable Privy-Council,* &c.

May it pleaſe your Lordſhip,

MY vaſt Obligations to your Lordſhip's Good-

neſs exceeding all poſſibility of Retaliation, and a private Acknowledgment being too faint a Teſtimony of the Gratitude of my Mind, I have preſum'd on this Method to make my Thankfulneſs extend beyond the Limits of my Life, and acquaint the World that His Majeſty's Bounty, and your Lordſhip's Favours, have not been thrown away upon an Ungrateful Perſon, but beſtow'd upon a Dutiful Subject, who hath hitherto, and as long as God affords him Life, will expreſs his Duty to your Lordſhip, in the Sincerity of his Service to His Majeſty's Government; and that I know will be more acceptable to your Lordſhip, than tedious Harangues, or elegant Expreſſions; where the greateſt I can

make,

make, is the leaſt that I acknowledge to be due to your Lordſhip from me.

The following Diſcourſe, my Lord, ſhews the Lawfulneſs of our late happy Revolution, and might juſtly command my Obliging the World with an Account of your Lordſhip's extraordinary Merits, in that, and all other Occaſions, for *England*'s Safety; But when I conſider your Lordſhip is better pleas'd in deſerving, than hearing an excellent Character, and that your Lordſhip being one of thoſe Pillars that under His Sacred Majeſty ſupport the Weight of Publick Tranſactions, I cannot hope the Great Affairs of your Eminent Station ſhould afford you Time to Read a longer Dedication, and therefore dare not give my

ſelf

ſelf the Liberty of writing ſo much as a ſhort Elogy upon a Subject that is able to juſtifie the largeſt Panegyrick. Now,

That your Lordſhip may enjoy a long and happy Life, exalted in your Prince's Favour, and proſperous in all your Negotiations, to the Encouragement of true Piety, Loyalty, and Vertue, ſhall be the Inceſſant Prayers of,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's

Moſt Humble, and

Entirely Devoted Servant,

RIC. KINGSTON,

The PREFACE.

Reader,

THis ſmall Treatiſe that now ſalutes your Hands, and is ſubmitted to your Cenſure, is the Tenth I have Writ and Publiſh'd on the Government's Behalf ſince the happy Revolution; and for ſome Reaſons being forc'd to conceal my Name, ſome of the Scribling Tribe have been pleas'd to call themſelves the Authors of them, and have ſtolen Rewards from Publick Hands for what were only my Productions; therefore ſeeing moſt of thoſe Books are Sold off, and as ſoon as a Work of another Nature is Compleated, that has been long under hand, I ſhall Collect them all into one entire Volume, Publiſh it with my Name to it, and leave the Uſurpers to prove their Titles to what they have ſo unjuſtly claim'd.

claim'd. In relation to the Subsequent Discourse, I must acknowledge the Path has been already trod by others; but whether in Brevity and Perspicuity they have made the Way so plain to every Understanding, your self, not I, must now determine. However, since large Volumes neither correspond with the Purses nor Leisure of the Generality of English *Readers, and that our Enemies talk this Subject as loudly now, as at the Beginning of the Revolution, I have accommodated our Friends with an Antidote against that Infection, at a Price, and in a Volume, that will neither burthen the Reader's Memory, waste his Time, nor disoblige his Pocket; and yet furnish him with Reasons to answer all Objections in favour of* James *the Second, or those advanc'd against our Legal Establishment.* Vale.

Tyranny

Tyranny Detected;

AND THE

Late Revolution

JUSTIFIED, &c.

WHoever has an Inclination to ſatisfie himſelf, or others, that the Attempt of the late King, in Subverting the *Proteſtant Religion*, and Introducing and Eſtabliſhing *Popery* in theſe Kingdoms, was no Deſign of a *late* Invention, nor only owing to the Caprichio of his own Bigotry in the *Romiſh* Perſuaſion; to go no further backward, muſt take his *Æra* from the *Reſtoration* of *Charles* the Second, who was Imbark'd in the ſame Enterprize tho' (*for fear of Travelling again*, as he was pleas'd to phraſe it) he was unwilling to divulge it, till he was

leaving the World, and thought it Inconſiſtent with his future Eſtate, any longer to conceal the Secret.

To the Baniſhment of the *Royal Family*, and their ſitting looſe in the Principles of that truly *Catholick Religion*, in which they were Educated, muſt be aſcrib'd this *fatal* Change: Their *Exile*, and other Inconveniencies, laid 'em open to many Temptations: The Allurements and Promiſes of thoſe *Popiſh* Princes, on whom they muſt neceſſarily have ſome kind of Dependance, ſmooth'd the Way; and the Careſſes, and Inceſſant Importunities of their *Mother*, aſſiſted by the Crafts and Treachery of *Prieſts* and *Jeſuits*, (who know how to improve every Advantage,) at length prevail'd upon the Unſteady *Royal Brothers, to Abjure the Proteſtant, and Eſpouſe the Popiſh Religion.* Their Example Influenc'd many that had either Dependance on them, or Expectation from them, to Write after * their Copy; and ſo the *King*, and *Duke*, were early furniſh'd with a Sett of Men, Ready Prepar'd to execute what was ſubſervient to the Great Deſign

* Quicquid Principes faciunt præcipere videntur. *Quint. dec. 4.*

Deſign of Subjecting *England*'s Obedience to the Triple Crown.

Nor can any Rational Man (at this time of day) doubt, but that *Charles* the Second Liv'd and Dy'd a Papiſt, who hath either heard what he both *Said* and *Did* when under the Proſpect of approaching Death, and paſt hope of Acting a Part any longer; or who have Read the two *Papers* left in his *Strong* Box, publiſh'd to the World, and Atteſted by the late *King James* to be Genuine. No leſs have we Reaſon to doubt, but Setting up *Popery* and *Arbitrary Power* was his *Darling*-Project, ſince the whole Courſe of his Reign was but one Entire Confirmation of thoſe Deſtructive Machinations: And tho' with the Higheſt Aſſeverations, and Dreadful Imprecations, he often deny'd both; making us believe what he was *not*, by *Inveighing* againſt what he really *was*; yet the Actions of *Princes*, that ſpeak louder, and convince more effectually than feign'd Declarations, or Proclamations; Evidently ſhew'd he did but *bubble*, and *delude* the Nation, till, Inſenſibly to

us, and with Security to himself, he might appear in his own Likeness, and do here, what in *France* he had promis'd.

His Engaging in an *Expensive* and *Bloody* War against the States of *Holland*, could have no other Design, but to *weaken* the Protestant Interest, both in that *Commonwealth*, and in his *own Kingdom*. Provocations they had given him none; nor could he assign any Reason of State on his own part, unless he fetch'd it from the *Romish Alcoran*, that says, we must have no Peace with *Hereticks*, and allows all Acts of Injury and Violence to *Protestants*.

His stifling the *Popish Plot*, and delivering the *Papists*, as much as in him lay, from the Danger into which it had cast them; His being the *Author*, or, at least, the Great Encourager of *Sham-Plots*, charg'd upon Protestants; His continued Confederacies with the *Known Enemy*, to the Disobliging of his own People; His Betraying of *Europe* by false and flattering Promises, when he might have prescrib'd what Terms of the Peace he pleas'd, during the whole

whole Courſe of his Mediation at *Nimeguen*; or, in Conjunction with the *Dutch*, and other Allyes, have continued the War againſt *France*, to the greateſt Advantage that ever was put into the Hands of the Confederates; is a manifeſt Proof, how he ſtood affected: And tho' he made great Shews as if he had been in *earneſt*, all was but *Deceit* and *Colour*; for at length, contrary to all the Rules of Policy, and without Ground or Pretext for ſuch Proceedings, a Peace was clap'd up * in the *Dutcheſs of Portſmouth's Chamber*, by the Intervention and Purſuit of Monſieur *Barillon*; to the great Amazement, and general Prejudice of all *Chriſtendom*.

* *Sir* W. Temple's Memoirs

His then Majeſty's neglecting to Aſſiſt the *French Proteſtants*, under great Perſecutions for their *Religion*, was more than a Tacit Conſent to their *Utter Extirpation*. His Intailing the *Duke of York* upon the Nation, contrary to the Deſires and Endeavours of Three *Parliaments*; and that not out of Love to his Perſon, but Affection to Popery, which he knew that Prince was engag'd

by Solemn Oath to eſtabliſh; are Sufficient Evidences of *Charles* the Second's *Religion*, and his being engag'd in the Deſign of Subverting ours; which, I think, no Man will queſtion, that was not concerned with him in it.

'Twas by a ſtrange *Providence*, as well as great *Overſight* in the Conduct of the late King, that we arriv'd at this Diſcovery; for ſo many good Men that believ'd the *Tremendous Oaths* his Majeſty, *Charles* the Second had ſwallow'd, and thought it impoſſible he ſhould prevaricate in ſo *ſolemn* a Matter, were ſo fix'd in their Opinions of King *Charles*'s being a *Proteſtant*, and ſo Outragious againſt them that durſt but *whiſper* the contrary, that had it not been for his *Receiving Abſolution, and Extream Unction, from a Popiſh Prieſt, a little before his Death; and for what he left in Writing, under his own Hand*; he would ſtill have paſs'd for a *True* Proteſtant; and the Nation, in favour of that Monarch, would have ſtill been kept under their former Deluſions. And,

Tho'

Tho', at the ſame time, it gives us but an *Indifferent* Character of this *Prince*, who, for the Lucre of a *Crown*, thus notoriouſly diſſembled with God and Man; and that in all his *Declarations* and *Speeches* to the *Parliament*, and in Complying in the *Offices*, and in Communicating in the *Holy Sacrament* of the Church of *England*, he wore the Vizor of a Proteſtant, when he was a Member of the Church of *Rome*, and was by Oath, when he chang'd his Religion at *St. Germains*, in *France*, oblig'd to ſet up Popery! Yet it gives us an Everlaſting Abhorrence of *Romiſh* Principles, which, for the Sordid Intereſt of that *Idolatrous* Church, did not only *Diſpence* with, but *Indulge* ſuch Crimes, as the worſt of *Heathens*, and *Pagans*, would bluſh at the Thoughts of. And here, tho' the Series of the Narration will hardly allow it, I will draw a Veil before the Picture of this Unhappy *Prince*; and without Expoſing his Intricate, and Bifarious Actions to a more Open View, and Cenſure, content my ſelf by telling the Reader, he Liv'd in a *Cloud*, he Dy'd

in a *Storm*: But by what *means* he came to his End, God knows; tho' the Suddenneſs and Meanneſs of his Interment Rais'd many Suſpicions.

Neque Sepulchrum, quo recipiat habet portum corporis:
Ubi remiſſa humana vita, corporis requieſcat a malis.

He had no Tomb, nor with a Port was bleſt;
Where, after Death, his Corps in Peace might reſt.

I am not unſenſible that ſome Judicious Enquirers into theſe Affairs, will think I ought to have begun the Deſigns of Advancing *Popery* and *Arbitrary Power* with the Reign of *the Family of the Stewarts* in this Kingdom; But ſince I cannot with Juſtice think the firſt two Kings deſign'd to bring in *Popery*; and having Occaſion to take notice of every of their particular Efforts for the Introduction of Arbitrary Power, in their ſeveral Reigns, in the ſubſequent Diſcourſe, I thought it excuſable that I began no Earlier than the Re-

Reſtoration of *Charles* the Second, and therefore proceed to ſhew what Methods were taken by him, to Erect thoſe *Idols*, and ſubvert our *Religion* and *Laws*; and they were principally Four: *Firſt*,

1. By Abuſing the *Credulity* of the Nation, with the fond Hopes of ſuch Privileges and Immunities, as were never intended them. Of this kind was his *Declaration from Breda*; which promis'd *Indulgence and Liberty of Conſcience* to all Proteſtants, that would live peaceably under the Civil Government; But if we had look'd before us, and not ſuffer'd our Prejudices againſt the many late *Mock-Governments*, the *Tyranny* of our Fellow-Subjects, and the Tranſports of being deliver'd from them, in the Acceſſion of the Rightful King to his Throne, to have blinded our Eyes, we might eaſily have perceiv'd, that it was never in his Thoughts to perform it; For, the Previous Obligations he was under, to the *Church of Rome*, had a Virtue to Superſede, and Annul, his Engagements to *Engliſh Hereticks*. So that all he Intended by that

that *Declaration*, was, to Tye up the Hands; and Lull thoſe into a Tameneſs of Admitting his Return into his Dominions, whom a Jealouſie of being afterwards *perſecuted* for their *Conſciences*, might have awaken'd, to withſtand and diſpute it, 'till they had better Security. And ſo it came to paſs; for he was no ſooner ſeated in the Throne of his Anceſtors, and ſaw himſelf ſecure, but he diſcharg'd himſelf from every thing that the *Royal* Word, and Faith of a Prince, had oblig'd him to perform. *Secondly*,

2. By Sowing *Diſcord*, *Dividing* Proteſtants, Alienating their Affections, and Imbittering their Minds one againſt another; that being ſo Divided, and Enrag'd, they might contribute to each other's Deſtruction; or, by weakning their Intereſt, become an eaſie Prey to the Fury of Papiſts. And truly, nothing but an *Early* Proſpect of this Method could have Embolden'd *King Charles* to enterprize upon our *Engliſh Liberties*, and the Reform'd *Religion*: For, tho' there have been always Differences among them, concerning

cerning *Eccleſiaſtical Government*, and *Diſcipline*, and about *Forms* and *Modes* of Divine Worſhip; yet they always accorded in *Eſſentials* of Religion, and in the Preſervation of their Natural and Legal *Rights* and *Privileges*, as well as in a Common Deteſtation of *Popery* and *Tyranny*, and the Sinifter Arts of promoting them; But when theſe Fiery Bombs of a Popiſh Court, were by various Hands, thrown among Proteſtants, all went to wrack by our fatal Diviſions; and ſuch an *Unlimited* Power was thruſt into the Hands of *Cæſar*, over our Lives, Religion, Laws, Eſtates, and Liberties, that if his *Amorous* Intrigues, and *Careleſs* Temper, had not diverted him, he had certainly arriv'd at that Pitch of *Abſoluteneſs* in *Church* and *State*, that he aſpir'd after; and had laid all his Subjects at the *Diſcretion* and *Will* of the Monarch.

3. The next Expedient that King *Charles* employ'd, to accompliſh his Deſign, was, *Encouraging and Cheriſhing Papiſts* upon every Occaſion, when it might be done without an open Reflexion on himſelf, or Go-

vern-

vernment; and yet, ſometimes he broke through thoſe Maxims alſo; tho' one would have thought their Intolerable Inſolencies, on every Gleam of Royal Favour, might have juſtly check'd his Clemency. Inſtances of his particular Reſpects for that People might be eaſily given; but becauſe it will be particularly diſcours'd in his *Succeſſor's* Reign, I ſhall give but Two here, and thoſe were, *His Conniving at their Increaſe, and Executing the Laws with greateſt Rigour againſt Proteſtant-Diſſenters; giving private Inſtructions to his Judges, to ſtifle the Execution of the Laws againſt Popiſh Recuſants, tho' directly levell'd againſt them, and but by a forc'd Conſtruction, inflicted upon Proteſtants.*

4. But the laſt, and moſt *Effectual Stratagem*, for the Service of this King's *Arbitrary* Ends, was, Tying all his *Eccleſiaſtical Promotions* to the Preaching up *Paſſive Obedience*, and *Non-Reſiſtance*: And in this he ſucceeded ſo *unluckily*, that thoſe who refus'd to comply with this *Upſtart Doctrine*, were ſcarce reckon'd among the Number of Chriſtians; whilſt a

little

little Court-Zealot, that had nothing elſe to recommend him, but a Blind Obedience to the Orders of *Whitehall*, in Preaching up this *Slaviſh Doctrine*, was Dignify'd with the Title of *a True Son of the Church*, and *Loaded* with Preferments.

Into what a doleful Condition was this Nation reduc'd, when *Religion* was forc'd to truckle to New-invented *Politicks*, and our *Laws* were Brib'd into a Conſpiracy againſt themſelves? Now both *Pulpit* and *Preſs* were Surfeited with ſuch Diſcourſes as theſe, *viz.* That *Monarchy was a Government by Divine Right*; *That it was in the Prince's Power to Rule as he pleaſes*; *That it was a Grace and Condeſcention in the King to Govern by Laws*; *That for Parliaments to Direct or Regulate the Succeſſion, border'd upon Treaſon, and was an Offence againſt the Law of Nature*; *and, That the only Benefit left to Subjects, in caſe the King will Tyrannize over their Conſciences, Perſons, and Eſtates, is, tamely to ſuffer, and*, as they Abſurdly expreſs'd it, *to Exerciſe Paſſive Obedience.*

Thus

Thus were the Minds, and Consciences, of the Subjects corrupted with such Pestilent and *Slavish* Notions, that at length the whole Nation was betray'd into such a Stupidity, and Insensibility of their *Religion*, and *Legal Rights*, that our *Limited Monarchy* was almost turn'd into an *Absolute Tyranny*, and our Antient Privileges dwindl'd into nothing.

Under pretence of *Preserving the Church*, too many of the *Clergy* gave themselves over to an Implicit Serving of the Court; and became, not only *Advocates*, but *Instruments*, for the Robbing Corporations of their *Charters*; Imposing *Sheriffs* upon the City of *London*, who were not Legally Elected; and of *Fining* and punishing Men *Arbitrarily*, for no Crime, save their having, by Modest and Lawful Ways, Asserted their Own, and the Nations Rights.

Under pretence of Jealousie of the *Fanaticks*, they became *Tools* under this *King*, for Justifying the *Dissolution* of so many *Parliaments*, the Invasion made upon their Privileges, the Ridiculing and Stifling *Popish Plots*,

Plots, the Shamming of Forg'd Conſpiracies upon Proteſtants; the *Condemning* of ſeveral Men to Death, for *High Treaſon*, who could be Render'd *Guilty* by the Tranſgreſſion of no *Known* Law; and finally, for Advancing the *Duke of York into the Throne*, who was engag'd in a Conjuration againſt *Religion*, and the *Civil Government*; and whom Three ſeveral *Parliaments*, for thoſe Reaſons, would have Excluded from the Succeſſion. But,

When I ſay, theſe Enormities were committed by the *Clergy*, I deſire not to be underſtood, as if I intended to comprehend all that *Sacred Order* under the Guilt of ſuch Raſh and Inconſiderate Deſigns; for there were many Good Men among them, who were ſo far from Sacrificing our *Religion*, and *Laws*, to *Popery* and *Arbitrary Power*, that they publickly declar'd their *Diſ-likes*, and *Abhorrence* of ſuch Extravagant Proceeding, tho' they wanted Power to ſtem the Torrent that was overflowing both *Church*, and *State*; and as ſoon as Providence miniſter'd an Occaſion, were the *firſt* that put to their Hands

to

to ſtop the Violence of the Stream, and *Confine* the Power of the *Late King*, within the Bounds of *Law* and *Juſtice*. But to return from this Digreſſion;

This *Paſſive Obedience Doctrine* was broach'd by ſome *Modern Divines*, about the middle of the Reign of King *James the Firſt*; who, in Oppoſition to *Buchanan*, *Knox*, and other *Scotch Miniſters*, (that gave too great Encouragement to *Sedition*, and *Rebellion*,) and to Curry Favour with that *Monarch*, run into contrary Extreams, under the Names of *Duty*, and *Loyalty*: So hard and difficult it is, to obſerve the *Golden* Mean.

Dr. *Harſnet*, Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, was the firſt I meet with in that Reign, that gave himſelf the Liberty, from theſe Words, *Give unto Cæſar the things that are Cæſar's*, to diſcover New Notions in *Politicks*, as well as *Divinity*; and to Aſſert publickly, *That the King had an Abſolute Right to all that Subjects were poſſeſſed of*. And for this Service, in *Betraying* his *Country*, he was Tranſlated from the Dioceſs of *Chicheſter*, to *Norwich*; and thence, to the *Archbiſhoprick of York*. In

In the Beginning of the Reign of King *Charles* the First, theſe *Preachments* run ſomething higher; and Dr. *Manwaring* holding forth before that *King*, at *Whitehall*, Inveſted him with an Uncontrollable Authority; gave him Power to *Raiſe Taxes*, or *Subſidies*, without Conſent of *Parliament*; and in the Concluſion, reſign'd all the King's Subjects to the *Devil*, that refus'd to obey it: For which he was preſented to a *Fat* Living in *Eſſex*, and afterwards promoted to the *Biſhoprick of St Davids*; which, under what ſad *Conſtellation*, or *Fate*, I know not, has often been *Peſter'd* with Men of the ſame Principles!

The Promotion of theſe *Temporizers* encourag'd Dr. *Sybthorp*, a Confident and Kinſman to Dr. *Lamb*, to attempt the Mending his Circumſtances by Tracing their Steps: And in an *Aſſize-Sermon* at *Northampton*, on *Rom.* 13. 7. he laid our *All* at the *King*'s Feet; and left poor *Subjects* nothing but *Tears* for their Loſs, and *Prayers* to be ſupply'd in their Wants. Thus, bating Preferments, *Sybthorp* ſoon obtain'd his Ends;

and his Vicaridge of *Brackly* was mended, by the Addition of the Rich Parſonage of *Burton on the Wold*, in the ſame County.

Nor did the Reward of this Service extend only to *Sybthorp*, but ſlew a *Cathedral Height*; for Dr. *Abbot*, *Archbiſhop of Canterbury*, refuſing to Licenſe this *Sermon* to be Printed, was ſoon after *Suſpended* from his Biſhoprick, and Dr. *Laud*, that *did* Licenſe it, being then *Biſhop of St. Davids*, was Tranſlated to *London*, and afterwards to the Metropolitan See of *Canterbury*. Nay, ſo ſtrong run the Tide of Preferment then in this *Corrupted* Channel, that few *Divines*, or *Common* or *Civil* Lawyers, were preferr'd to any conſiderable Place, either in *Church*, or *State*, that did not in the *Pulpit*, and on the *Bench*, vigorouſly maintain theſe Novel and Deſtructive Opinions, to the *Scandal* of their Functions, and intended *Ruin* of the Kingdom.

To this Doctrine muſt be aſcrib'd the Miſchiefs of all former and later Reigns; under the Protection of which, any King may play the *Tyrant*

rant without Control; tho' it often proves *Fatal* to him that lays the Train: And ſo it happen'd to *Charles* the Second; for no ſooner had his *Unlimited Power* been ſo Strenuouſly Aſſerted, that he was come to give the finiſhing Stroke, but his *Death* ſeem'd Neceſſary, and Seaſonable, to make way for the *Duke of York*, to open the Execution of the *Grand Deſign*, in a bare-fac'd Subverſion of the *Religion* and *Laws* of *England*.

At the Beginning of the *Reſtoration*, ſo great an Opinion was conceiv'd of *His Highneſs the Duke of York*, that his partial Admirers would ſuffer no Man to Inſinuate his being Reconcil'd to the Church of *Rome*; but ſet him up under all the Noble Qualities that might render him Acceptable to a Credulous People; not only as *Merciful* in his Temper, *Juſt* in his Dealings, and endu'd with all Gracious Inclination to our *Laws*, and the *Rights* of the Subject, but for one *Orthodox* in his *Religion* too, and who would prove a Zealous *Defender* of the *Doctrine, Worſhip, and Diſcipline of the Church, as Eſtabliſh'd by Law*.

In this Perſuaſion they continu'd ſome Years; and tho' he had at length withdrawn himſelf from all Acts of Fellowſhip with the Church of *England*; Refus'd the *Teſt*, injoin'd by Law, for diſtinguiſhing *Papiſts* from *Proteſtants*; had Reſign'd his Office of *Lord High Admiral*; ſtood Excluded from the Houſe of *Lords*; and that ſo many *Parliaments* had endeavour'd to Exclude him from *Succeſſion* to the *Crown*, becauſe he had Revolted to the See of *Rome*, and thereby became Dangerous to the Eſtabliſh'd *Religion*; yet all this would make no Impreſſion upon a *Wilfully* Deluded, and *Obſtinate* Sort of *Proteſtants*; but in Defiance of all Means of Conviction, they would perſuade themſelves, that he was ſtill a *Zealot* for our *Religion*, and a great *Patriot* of the Church of *England*: Nor could any thing undeceive them, till upon his Brother's Death, *he openly declar'd himſelf to be a Papiſt*; and afterwards, in the *Fumes* and *Raptures* of his Victory over the late *Duke of Monmouth*, had diſcover'd, and proclaim'd, his Intentions to *overthrow* both our *Religion*,

gion, and *Laws*. Yea, ſo cloſely had ſome *ſeal'd* up their Eyes againſt all Beams of Light, and *harden'd* themſelves againſt all Evidences from *Reaſon*, and *Fact*, that had Succeſs attended the *Duke of Monmouth's* Arms, the late *King* had gone off the Stage with the Reputation among them, of a *Prince* tender of the *Laws* of the Kingdom; and who, notwithſtanding his being a *Papiſt*, would have preſerv'd the *Reform'd Religion*, and maintain'd the *Church of England* in all her *Rights* and *Grandures*: And tho' his whole Life had been but one continu'd *Conſpiracy* againſt our Civil *Liberties* and *Privileges*, he had left the Throne with the Character, and under the Eſteem, of a *Prince* that, in the whole Courſe of his Government, would have regulated himſelf by the Rules of the *Conſtitution*, and the *Statutes* of the Realm.

Aditum nocendi perfido præſtat fides. Sen. in Oed. Act. 3. Scen. 1.

So Simple Truth does her fair Breaſt
Diſarm,
And gives Baſe Treachery a Power to
Harm.

King Charles being now Dead, the late *Duke's Expectations* Answer'd, and his *Ambition* gratify'd with a *Crown*; at his first coming to it, he endeavour'd to Confirm some, and Gain other of his Subjects into a good Opinion of him, and their own Happiness under his Government: And therefore, in his first *Speech* to the Parliament, declar'd so much *Tenderness* for them, and such a *Dear* Respect for the Preservation of their *Liberties*, that the *Cajoll'd Parliament*, from an *Excess* of Satisfaction, shew'd as much Affection for *him*, as ever Parliament did to a Prince of their *own* Religion; and gave Money till he himself put a stop to the profuse and excessive Expressions of their Satisfaction.

It must be granted, that the *Lives* of some Professors are not so bad as the *Consequences* of their Erroneous Opinions; and it was charitably thought by the *Parliament*, that the late *King James*, tho' a Papist, would not Govern so *Arbitrarily* as the Encourag'd *Doctrines* of the Age gave him Leave to do; But when they saw their Errour, and perceiv'd that

Popery

Popery and *Arbitrary Power* were *never* to be parted; that the *Monks* and *Friars* Enter'd to Act in their proper Habits; that *Seminaries* were ſet up in ſeveral Places, and Houſes fill'd with theſe Religious *Furies*; that the *Laws* being, in the *late* Reign, betray'd into his Hands, he unmercifully *Stabb'd* and *Diſpatch'd* them; and that his Antecedent *Oaths* and Promiſes were all come to nothing; how it fill'd them with *Reſentments*, for his having thus *Abus'd* their Credulity, *Deceiv'd* their Expectations, and *Reproach'd* their Gloryings, and Boaſtings of him? But, alas! it was then too late to ſeek a Remedy for thoſe Evils, that an *Eaſie Belief*, and a *Fond* Compliance with *Empty* Popiſh Promiſes, had brought upon us: Now we *Feel*, what we would not *See*, and *Prevent*, at a Diſtance.

——*Quid nobis certius ipſis* Lucret.
Senſimus eſſe poteſt, quo vera, ac falſa notemus?
And what thing can there be more ſure than Senſe,
By which we Truth diſcern from falſe Pretence.

We ſmarted under our *own* Rod, and had plenty of miſerable Occaſions for the Religious Exerciſe of that fatal Duty, *Paſſive Obedience!* Our Satisfactions in our *New King* were vaniſh'd; and the Hopes of living happy Subjects under *him*, were ſunk into Apprehenſions of Approaching Slavery: A general Conſternation fell upon the whole Body of the People; and the very *Tools* that aſſiſted the *late King* in ſubverting their *own* Religion, and the Civil Rights of their Brethren, were afraid, in ſo Univerſal a Calamity, that *themſelves* ſhould alſo feel the ſad Effects of that *Thunder*, with which they had Arm'd their *Tyrant*.

In how happy a Condition was *James* the Second, before he violated his Oaths, and Promiſes; and ſo might have continu'd, if he could have preſcrib'd any *Limits* to his Deſires of Reigning more *Abſolutely* than the Laws of the Conſtitution would allow him? He had all things at pleaſure, to make him *Great* among his own Subjects, and *Formidable* to his Enemies. The *Parliament*

ment gave him more Money, for the Time, than to any of his Predeceſſors: The *Nobility* rais'd him Forces, to ſubdue a Popular Invader: *Addreſſors* offer'd him their *Lives* and *Fortunes*, and vy'd with each other in the Demonſtrations of their *Loyalty!*

What related to the *private* Satisfaction of the late King's Humour, was chearfully comply'd with: But when it was apparent that the whole Kingdom was deſign'd a *Sacrifice* to his *Lawleſs* Ambition, and Frentick Zeal! his Subjects began to ſearch into the *Meaſures* of their Submiſſion, and to enquire *how far* they were oblig'd to obey an *Arbitrary Prince*; and from thence, began to take new Meaſures; inſomuch that the late *King* no ſooner alter'd from what he *ſeem'd* to be in his firſt Speech, but the People chang'd from what they *were*; and took up Reſolutions to Embrace the *Firſt* Opportunity, and Means of *Deliverance*.

But becauſe Precipitation, and Immaturity in Action, Ruin the beſt laid Enterprizes in the World, they reſolv'd to *Suffer* till Patience ſhould

Ripen

Ripen the Design, and render the Execution of it Easie, and Effectual. To this purpose, the *Great* and *Wise* Men of the Kingdom having abandon'd the Court, as an *Infectious* Palace, and retir'd into the Country, they debated on this Subject; and all agreeing in an Acknowledgment of their own Weakness, in so manifestly exposing themselves, and their *Country*, to the Capricious Humours of a *Tyrannical* Prince; tho' they heartily wish'd him all Happiness; yet they thought their Duty was stretch'd *too* far, when by a *blind* Submission to his Irregular Commands, they were oblig'd to forego the *Natural* Principles of *Self-Preservation*; and that by seeking officiously to add to their *Loyalty*, they must Detract from their *Judgments*, *Consciences*, and *Honesty*; and therefore apply'd themselves to find out a *Remedy* that might either *Recover*, or *Disarm* him, and yet deprive him of nothing but the Liberty of doing Wrong. And,

Who can blame those *Wise* and *Prudent* Patriots, for laying hold on the first Advantage for their own, and

and the Nation's Preſervation, when all Hopes of the late King's *Reformation* were ſo utterly Extinguiſh'd, that every Moment produc'd *new* Projects of our *Ruin*? He now Glory'd in being thought a Zealous *Papiſt*! and gave up himſelf Entirely to the Conduct of *Infamous Jeſuits!* They were the *Governors* and *Directors* of his Conſcience! they *Influenc'd* all his Counſels! And he ſeem'd to have no other Sentiments, either in *Religion*, or *Politicks*, but what was breath'd into him by that wretched Society.

He parted with a *Flower* of his Crown, in Aboliſhing the Act of *Supremacy*; and diveſted himſelf of all Power in Spiritual Affairs, to gratifie the Pope's Ambition; and from being *Supream* in his own Dominions, was reduc'd to be an *Under-Officer* to the See of *Rome*; having left himſelf no Power, but to Execute ſuch Orders in Extirpating *Hereticks*, as that Church thought fit to impoſe upon him.

See into what a Subjection and Vaſſalage he had brought himſelf! He that would obſerve no Laws at

home,

home, laid himself under the Penalty of those at *Rome*; who would allow him no Room for Mercy to his Subjects, without bringing a severe Judgment upon himself: For * *if he neglected to destroy Hereticks, after he was admonish'd by that Church to do it, he forfeited his Crown to the Pope, his Subjects were discharg'd of their Allegiance, himself Depos'd, and his Kingdom must be given to another.* Severe Sentences for not being a Murtherer: But there is a Worse behind; *his Eternal Damnation must follow his Temporary Losses, and Deprivation,* in case of Disobedience.

* Tho. Aequ. Secind. par. Summæ quæst. 50. Art. 3.

Under these Circumstances, what Hopes had *England* of any Good from *James* the Second? For, after all this, to pretend he would support our Religion, and Civil Constitutions, (which are as opposite to Popery, as Light to Darkness,) is mere Nonsense, or think he would run any of these *Hazards*, or blot his Name in the *Roman Calendar*, to preserve *a Poison'd Nation, a Generation of Obstinate Hereticks, Enemies and Traytors to God and Man*, (for with these Epithets *Bellarmin* adorns our Characters,)

racters,) is to perſuade the World that our *Reaſon*'s grow downward, and that by imbibing this contradiction, we were preparing to ſwallow *Tranſubſtantion* alſo.

Suetonius in the Life of *Tiberius* ſays that *Emperor* could never have made ſuch *Inrodes* upon the antient Priviledges of the *Roman Empire*, if he had not been aſſiſted in it by *Time ſervers and flatterers*, nor could *James* the ſecond ſo eaſily have fallen into the *Deſire* and *Exerciſes* of a Diſpotic power, if his own Inclinations had not been aſſiſted by the concurrence of *Ill men*, and the *prevailing opinions* of the age, that made way for it; among which this was one, *viz.* that Monarchy and Hereditary Succeſſion was by *Divine Right*, and *Inalienable*. A pleaſing doctine to Princes that are graſping at *Arbitrary Power*, as giving them liberty to be as *Tyrannical* as they pleaſe, becauſe no Man can be ſaid to offend that acts * from a principle of *Divine* and *Inherent Right*; for that never dies, nor can be Aboliſh'd, and therefore, ſince this Doctrine has been of *fatal* conſequence, both

* Nemine injuriam facit, qui jure ſuo utitur.

to

to *Kings* and *Subjects*, Give me leave to offer ſomething againſt its ſpreading farther, by asking theſe modeſt Queſtions?

When, and to whom, was this Charter granted? If they ſay it had the ſame original with the *Creation*, and was confer'd on *Adam* by God Almighty, their Proof ought to be taken, and with certainty too, from the *Sacred Records*, before they can hope to gain credit to their Aſſertion. Now that *Adam* had a *Paternal* Authority none will deny, but that he had a *Monarchical* Juriſdiction, and that it was *perpetual*, and extended beyond the bounds of his own Family, or that his *Sons*, when out of their Fathers Juriſdiction had not the ſame Authority in their own Families, as *Adam* had in his, is no where to be found in Scripture, granted either before, or after the Univerſal Deluge to *Noah's* poſterity; for beſides the abſurdity of the Notion, in making all other *Forms* of Government in the World *Tyrannical* and *Unlawful*, 'tis unreaſonable in reſpect of *Kings* themſelves: For unleſs they can prove themſelves

ſelves the immediate *Heirs* of *Adam*, which is impoſſible to do, they have no right to the Crowns they claim by *Human* Conſtitutions, but are all Uſurpers; and when the late *King* makes ſuch a Proof he will ſay ſomething to the purpoſe, till then, I think it improperly urg'd on his behalf, that the *Divine Right of Monarchy* began in *Adam*; becauſe there was ſuch an early *breach* in the *Succeſſion* as might ſpoyl all pretences to it for the future. I wiſh the caſe be not too parrellel. For,

Cain having *murther'd* his *Brother* and *Fled* his Country he made a *forfeiture* of his *Right*, and by his *Abdicating* the Government after the Deceaſe of *Adam* it muſt devolve upon *Seth*; which was an *Interruption* in the Succeſſion in the very *firſt* Deſcent, that it could never be throughly ſetled in after Ages. The Truth is, before the Flood the Scripture is ſo ſilent in *this* matter, that no Man can affirm whether the Government of the World in thoſe yearly Ages was *Regal*, *Ariſtocratical*, or *Paternal*, and conſequently not in which *Form* to fix this pretended *Divine Right*, with-

without offering injury to the other. Nor after the Flood do we mind this *Right* granted to *Noah* in greater proportion than to his *Sons* in common; Which was, to *acquire* what they could, and *enjoy* what they *acquir'd*; for these are the words of their Charter, *to subdue the earth and* * *possess it.*

* Gen. 9.

The *New* Testament gives no greater incouragement to this pretence of *Divine Right* than the *Old*; for tho' in the Theocracy Kings were set up by God, yet that method ceas'd when *Shylo* came; and tho' the blessed *Jesus*, and his Holy *Apostles*, were very pressing in those Moral duties of *Obedience to Superiors*, yet they no where asserted a Divine Right, nor prescrib'd any *Forms* of Government, or making *alterations*; but yielded a cheerful Submission to the *Reigning* Powers where they came, without calling their Titles into doubtful Disputations. Now seeing we cannot find this *Divine Right* of Monarchy, and Hereditary Succession, granted by the Law of *God*, as founded in *Paternal* or *Patriarchal* Authority, nor

Morally

Morally impreſs'd on human Nature, nor poſſitively Reveal'd in holy Scripture, which I ſhall particularly diſcourſe hereafter; let us deſcend into our own *Hiſtories*, and if we cannot find it there, we muſt leave it as a *Chimera*, or a *politick Stratagem* to Introduce *Tyranny*.

Democracy was the firſt Government in this *Britiſh* Iſle. Their *Druids* ſerv'd both for Prieſts and Judges; the whole Nation were a *barbarous* People that knew not *God* and worſhip'd *Idols*. And it would ſeem ſtrange to ſearch for a *Pearle* in this *Dunghil*; to derive a Pedigree from theſe *bruitiſh* Anceſtors: or build a *Divine Right* of Succeſſion, upon ſuch a *Heatheniſh* foundation, when a *Human Right* is more Eligible and Honourable.

After the *Druids*, ſucceeded a Race of *Lords* or *Petty* Kings, that divided *Britain* into eight and twenty Provinces, and chang'd the *Democracy* into an *Ariſtocracy*, every Province paying Alleglance to their own *Lord*; and becauſe among ſuch a Medly, it would be hard to find from which of them to derive a *Di-*

vine Right of Succeſſion, I ſhall leave it as too Nice and Intricate a matter, and paſs to the *Romans*.

Whoſe Government when *Julius Cæſar* made his firſt and ſecond Deſcent into *Britain* was *Ariſtocratical*, and he himſelf had then no greater title than *Dictator*, and if we examine the whole time of their continuance here, which was *Five hundred Years*, we ſhall find that all the ſeveral Governors came in by *Intruſion*, *Uſurpation*, *Adoption*, *Confirmation*, *or Purchaſe*; but not one of them ever claim'd by *Hereditary Succeſſion*.

Britain being abandon'd by the *Romans*, they elected *Vortigern* Earl *Cornwall* King; but upon the Leudneſs and Debauchery of his life, and neglecting the true Intereſt of the Kingdom, they Depos'd him, and choſe his Son *Vortimer*, and after his deceaſe, upon promiſing to Govern more Regularly, by a new Election, re-inthron'd *Vortigern*; who was Conquer'd by the *Saxons* whom he call'd in to aſſiſt him in his Wars againſt the *Picts* and *Scots*; ſo that here alſo we have quite loſt all pretences to a lineal Succeſſion from the

the *Britains*, or a pretended Power from God to Oppreſs and Ruin his People.

The *Saxons* were a Wild, *Illeterate*, and *Barbarous* People, living by *Plunder* and *Rapine*; Souldiers of *Fortune* without any certain Habitation, and having no Title of their *own*, as they Demean'd themſelves, could very ill pretend to have one from *God*; nor could their *Heptarchy* introduce a *Divine Right* among us; for then we muſt allow *ſeven Kings* at once to Govern by *Divine Right* in *England*. The *Danes* drove out the *Saxons*, injoy'd the Monarchy many Years, and after much ſtruggling were repuls'd by the *Saxons*, and they again by the *Danes*, among whom were ſo many Kings *Baniſh'd*, *Murther'd*, and *Depos'd*, that 'tis impoſſible, with any kind of certainty, to fix a Succeſſion from any of them. For,

Edward the Confeſſor that ſucceeded *Harold*, the laſt *Daniſh* King in *England*, and in whom, for want of Iſſue that Line was extinguiſh'd, had no *Hereditary Right*. 'Twas at firſt indiſputably in *Edward* Son of

Edmond Ironſide, Father to *Edgar Etheling* his Nephew, during his Life; and after his Deceaſe, to that *Edgar* who was alſo Nephew to the *Confeſſor*.

Harold, Son of Earl *Godwyn*, that without other *Ceremony* ſet the *Crown* upon his own Head had no pretence of Right to it, (tho' as affairs then ſtood was very fit for it;) for *Edgar Etheling* was then living and claim'd it, tho' he wanted Power to maintain his Right, and ſo *Harold* kept the Crown till he was depriv'd of *that*, and his *Life*, by one of another *Family* and a *Foreign* Nation; which has utterly deſtroy'd all pretenſions to the *Divine Right of Succeſſion* in this Kingdom, unleſs you will make *God* the Author of all thoſe horrid *Murthers*, *Devaſtations*, *and Confuſions* that were committed by many of theſe *Princes* in acquiring their Crowns. And here I muſt purſue the *Succeſſion* from the *Norman* Race.

William the Firſt was Illegitimate, and had *no Right* but from his Sword, and the Peoples ſubmiſſion and Electing him, after he had ſubdu'd King

King *Harold*, and the latter *Right* he always preferr'd before the former.

William the ſecond was *Elected* againſt the Right of his Elder Brother *Robert*, who was then living.

Henry the firſt was Elected King, *Favente Clero & Populo*, his Elder Brother *Robert* being living at the ſame time, and claim'd the Crown in Right of his Birth.

King Stephen was Elected *a Clero & Populo*, and *Maud*, who had the *Right* of Succeſſion was excluded.

Henry the ſecond came in by conſent, yet he had no *Hereditary* Right; for his Mother *Maud* the Empreſs, Daughter and Heir to *Henry* the Firſt was then living.

King John had no *Right* of Succeſſion; for he had an Elder Brother, *Jeffery Earl of Brittany*, who had iſſue *Arthur* and *Eleanor*, whoſe Heirs for ought we know to the contrary, may ſtill have a being in the World; but *John*, tho' *Arthur*, his Eldeſt Brother's Son, was then living, was Elected *a Clero & Populo*, and being divorc'd from his Wife, had *Henry* the Third by his new Queen.

Henry the third was Crown'd and ſettl'd in the Kingdom by the general Election of the People, tho' he had no Right to the Succeſſion; for *Eleanor* Daughter to *Jeoffry* his Father's Eldeſt Brother was then living.

Roger Mortimer Earl of *March*, Son of *Edmund* by *Philippa* Daughter and Heireſs to *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*, a younger Son of *Edward* the Third was by Parliament in the 9 *R.* 2. declared Heir apparent to the Crown, which could not be but by vertue of an Act of Parliament.

Henry the Fourth came to the Crown by way of Election, and in the eighth Year of his Reign was the firſt Act of Parliament made for entailing the Crown with Remainders.

By vertue of which Entail his Son *Henry the fifth* became King, and after him *Henry the ſixth*, in whoſe time

Richard Duke of *York* claim'd the Crown, and an Act of Parliament was made 39 *Hen.* 6. that *Henry* ſhould enjoy the Crown for his Life, and *Richard* and his *Heirs* after him. After which King *Henry*

raiſes

raiſe's an Army, kills *Richard*, for which *He*, the *Queen*, and *Prince* were all Attainted, 1 *Edw.* 4. becauſe *Richard* was declared *Heir* apparent to the Crown after *Henry* by Act of Parliament; but this *Attainder* was repeal'd in terms of *Diſgrace* and *Deteſtation*. 1 *Hen.* 7. Rot. Parl. 1 *Hen.* 7.

Edward the fourth ſucceeded *Henry* 6. by vertue of an Act of Parliament made in the time of *Hen.* 6, for entailing the Crown, as Son and Heir to the Duke of *York*.

Richard the third was confirmed King by Act of Parliament, tho' he came to it by blood and murther.

Henry the ſeventh comes in by no *Legal* Title, becauſe *Edw.* the fourth's Daughter, and his own Mother were both living. In his time the Crown was entail'd on him and his Heirs, by an Act of Parliament, and he would never ſuffer any other Title to declare his *Right*.

Henry the eighth ſucceeded, who, as all his Laws ſpeak, deriv'd his *Title* to the Crown from his *Father* by vertue of the Act of Parliament above-nam'd, and not by any Title

from his *Mother*, tho' by the Law of *Succeſſion*, his Right from Queen *Elizabeth*, Daughter of *Edw.* 4. was indiſputable. In his Reign the Crown was *thrice* entail'd, but the great one was that of 35. *c.* 1. by which *Edward the ſixth*, *Queen Mary*, *and Queen Elizabeth* ſucceeded, in whoſe Reign was made an Act of Parliament, making it *high Treaſon* to ſay it was not in the Power of Parliaments to limit the Succeſſion of the Crown.

Upon the Marriage of Queen *Mary* to King *Philip* of *Spain*, both the Crowns of *England* and *Spain* were entail'd, and the *Articles of Marriage* confirm'd by Act of Parliament, and by that Act of Parliament *Philip* was created King, and exercis'd Sovereign Authority, and particularly in making *Laws*, together with the Queen, the Style of the *Royal Aſſent* to Bills in Parliament, being at that time *Le Roy & La Reigne les veulent*, by all which it appears, that the Kings of *England*, ſince the Crown was ſetl'd in a particular Family, as well as before, are Kings by the *Laws* of the Land, and

of human Conſtitution, tho' their Power is from God Almighty. Nor does this opinion aim at the changing our *Hereditary* Monarchy into an *Elective* Kingdom; but ſhews that there is no ſuch abſolute neceſſity of keeping the *Lineal Deſcent* in reſpect of a *ſingle* Perſon, that it cannot be chang'd for the *preſervation* of a Kingdom, contrary to the Opinion of our *Lawyers*, who affirm from *Hiſtory*, *Records*, and *Law-Books*, that our Monarchy is *Hereditary* as to a Family, but Elective as to Perſons. However, to obviate the prejudice that might ariſe from that preconceit, I ſhall ſhew you 'tis Hereditary; and yet, that that Hereditary *Right* came alſo by *Law*, and therefore may be interrupted by our Legiſlators.

That *England* is an *Hereditary Monarchy*, and that the common courſe of *Succeſſion* is to be inviolably obſerv'd when it conſiſts with the publick good and ſafety of the Kingdom, none will deny; for our own *Laws* have ſo determin'd it, as a cuſtom grounded upon ſufficient Reaſons. Our Anceſtors perceiving

that

that the way of *Electing* Kings was ſubject to many Inconveniencies, and often expos'd the Kingdom to *Tempeſts*, *Interregnum's*, and *Revolutions*, as well as to the *ſeditious* commotions of under-hand dealers, and the Pride and Ambition of Men too deſirous to be uppermoſt. And that Kings coming to the Crown by *Election*, neglected the *Demeans*, and ſquander'd away the *Treaſure* of the Nation, becauſe they had no proſpect of leaving the Crown to their Heirs; 'twas therefore thought adviſable, and beneficial to the Publick, to fix the *Royalty* in a particular Family. As for example. In the eighth of *Hen.* the fourth, there was an Act of Parliament which *entail'd* the Crown with *Remainders*. And to name no other inſtances of the like kind, it was made *Treaſonable* by an Act of Parliament in the thirteenth of *Queen Elizabeth*, for any Man *to affirm that the common Laws of this Realm ought not to direct the Right of the Crown of England, or that the Laws were not of ſufficient force and validity, to limit and bind the Crown of this Realm, and the Deſcent, Limitation, Inhe-*

Inheritance, and Government thereof. So that 'tis plain, *an Hereditary Right, is a Right by the Laws of* England, and not otherwiſe: And what need is there of any other, ſince a *Right by Law* makes a *Rightful and Lawful King*, in deſpite of all the over-nice Diſtinctions of *State*-Criticks to the contrary. And, truly

Of all Men living, the late *King James*, and his Defenders, have leaſt Reaſon to quarrel *this Right by Law*: For, How came it to paſs, that the Line of the *Stewarts* had a better *Title* to the Crown of *Scotland*, than that of the *Baliols*; but only that the *Laws* of *Scotland*, that is, *the Conſent of the Eſtates of that Kingdom made them ſo?* For, otherwiſe, if we ſearch into the *Pedigrees* of thoſe two *Families*, we ſhall find that *Baliol*, according to the common receiv'd Rules of *Deſcent*, was nearer in Blood to the laſt *King David*, than *Bruce*; and was ſo adjudg'd at a ſolemn Hearing * between both Parties, by our *King Edward* the Firſt, in *Parliament*. Beſides, the late *King* has left it upon Record, from his own Mouth, *that the Laws of* England

* Bak. Chron. pag. 96.

land *were able to make a King as great and happy as he could desire to be*; and after that, I cannot imagine what he could wish for next. But,

His *Intentions* being fix'd to destroy those Laws that, in observing them, would have made him *great* and *happy*, he stood in need of a Title *Superior* to them; therefore his *Flatterers* contriv'd one of a *Divine Original*, and yet *it dy'd before him*; the Divinity of his Office was more Mortal than that of his Person; and well it might, having no Being, unless in the Heads of its first Inventore. The *Scripture* has declar'd the Falsity of this *new* Hypothesis:

† Rom. 13. † St. *Paul* saying, *There is no Power, but of God*, must be understood of Government in general: For the Apostle does not say, *There is no Prince*, but is of God; but, There is no *Power*, but of God. St. *Peter* also makes Kings to be of *Humane* Constitution, as well as our Laws, which know no such thing as a *Personal* Authority in the *King*, Antecedent, and Superiour to all Laws; nor no Divine Law, or just Inference from it, which does any where set aside

Humane

Humane Conſtitutions agreeable to Chriſtianity, and beneficial to Civil Societies.

Therefore, if a King, by *Lawful* Succeſſion, ſhall act *unlawfully*; and inſtead of preſerving the *Religious* and *Civil Rights* of his Subjects, ſhall endeavour to deſtroy them, he may be ſet aſide, without Prejudice to the Conſtitution, ſince we are not oblig'd to preſerve the *Right of the Succeſſion to the Deſtruction of the Kingdom*. *Fit*, and *Juſt*, ought to over-rule *Cuſtom*; and *Formalities* give way to the *Neceſſities* of the Publick. 'Twas a common Saying amongſt the late *King James*'s Favourites, that their King had a *Divine Right*, and therefore he would not be a *Slave* to the *Law*: And there is greater Reaſon that his Subjects ſhould not be *Slaves* to a *Tyrant*, that broke them; nor *Millions* of Souls be ruin'd, to humour a *Single* Perſon.

No pretended *Right* whatſoever can Legitimate *Unlawful* Practices; and therefore, when a King, *forgetting whoſe Miniſter he is*, degenerates into *Tyrant*, and deprives the Nation

tion of all those Blessings that Heaven had given us the quiet Enjoyment of; I think there can be no *Reason* assign'd, why we should endure those *Violences* any longer than till we are in a Capacity to help our selves. The Right of Succession has been always Claim'd, but not constantly Enjoy'd; and the Two Houses of *Parliament*, notwithstanding this Claim, have set the *Crown* upon the Heads of those *Princes* whom they knew had no *Hereditary Right* to it; and yet they have been esteem'd as *Lawful* Kings in all our *Chronicles* and *Laws*, while those who were *next* of Blood were laid Aside, when the Safety of the Kingdom, which is to be consider'd in the first, and chiefest place, makes it necessary so to do.

Into what a lamentable Condition would this Kingdom have been reduc'd, if the Law that *Intails* the Succession on the Next in Blood, should also give him a Power to do what he *pleases*, be it Right or Wrong! Wherefore, as the Law has often dispenc'd with the Next Heir, *before* he came to the Crown, for the former

former Reaſons; ſo it ſhews us, that we are no ways bound to a Prince on the Throne, who, by Breaking the *Laws* of the Conſtitution, has *Abdicated* the Government, and ſtands *Virtually* Depos'd by his own *Actions*, as well as by a *Law* as antient as *Edward* the *Confeſſor*. (or rather, *Edgar*, his Grandfather,) which ſays, *If the King refuſeth to govern by Law, not ſo much as the Name, or Title, of King remains to him: For* * *he ceaſes to be King, that governs by his own Will, and not according to Law.* So that 'tis plain, the Kings of *England* are not *Kings* by a *Divine*, but *Humane* Appointment: They are not *Abſolute*, but *Limited* Monarchs, and Circumſcrib'd and Bounded in their *Powers*, and *Prerogatives*, from Oppreſſing and Deſtroying their Subjects; which if the late *King* had obſerv'd, without ſuffering himſelf to have been abus'd by *Falſe* Notions, and Fawning *Flatteries*, he might have been *as Great, and as Happy a Prince, as he could have wiſh'd himſelf to be:* Whereas, ſtriving to be *above all*, has reduc'd him into a *Mean* and *Inſignificant*.

* Nec nomen Regis in eo conſtabit *Spel. Concil. leg. Guil. c. 6. Hoveden's Annals, Part 2. p. 608.*

ſignificant Station. So true is that Maxim, *That they which Wreſtle with Laws, are always Thrown; and fall Uneaſie, and Unpity'd.* But,

As Miſchiefs ſeldom come *Alone*, ſo this pretended *Divine Right* was accompany'd with the Doctrine of *Paſſive Obedience, and Non-Reſiſtance*; the firſt ſet him above all kind of *Reſtraint*; and the other laid his Subjects under his *Feet*, to be Trampled on, or Deſtroy'd, at his Pleaſure; and both being of *pernicious* Conſequence, I ſhall endeavour to ſtop the Currency of the latter alſo, by ſhewing that the Doctrine of *Paſſive Obedience* and *Non-Reſiſtance* are *Falſe* in their Application of it, and *Dangerous* to Kings, and *Deſtructive* to Subjects.

They are falſe, as the Authors apply them, in Licenſing all kind of Wickedneſs; and putting it into the Power of every *Arbitrary* Ruler, to invade the Laws and Liberties, the Lives and Fortunes of his Subjects, and to do what Miſchief he *pleaſes*, whilſt by a *Voluntary* Submiſſion, we yield up our Rights; which tho we might have been able to have

kept

kept them while we *had* them, may never be in any possibility of *Regaining* them when we have *lost* them.

Nam quid vis citius dissolvi posse videmus,
Quam rursus reficio——

For Things much sooner perish, than attain
(Being dissolv'd) to be repair'd again.

Sad Examples whereof we have in our Neighbouring Kingdoms, who, for want of a timely opposing the Arbitrary Power of their Kings, have fallen into Governments as *Absolute* and *Tyrannical* as the *Ottoman* Empire, where no Man can call any thing his own.

Certainly, those which with so much Zeal, contend for *Passive Obedience*, never consider'd the Consequences of it. What would not some Princes do, if they were assured that no body would *oppose* them? Nay, what would not the *late King* have done, had he been let alone to pursue his *Violent* Methods, with-

out that most admirable *Check* of Providence that encounter'd him?

Nature has founded our Obedience upon a Supposition, that it was for the *Good* of the Community, and not otherwise: And would it not be a *Contradiction*, if Princes might extend their Authority beyond the Design of its *Institution*, and attempt the Destruction of the Society, and we quietly submit to whatever they pleas'd to do? I am as far from denying the Persons of the *Kings* and *Queens* of this Nation to be *Sacred*, and *Inviolable*, as any Man living; yet, I dare not say they are to be *Obey'd* in All Cases whatsoever; for then the Doctrine of *Passive Obedience*, and the *Bow-string*, would be the same; and we must owe our Lives to Fortune, not to Justice.

What if a King should take pleasure in Burning of *Cities*, Murthering *Men*, and Ravishing *Women*; for such Kings there have been in the World, and what has been, may be again? Sure 'twould be a piece of the greatest *Impiety*, and *Wickedness*, but to imagin he might do it without *Control*. Fathers, by the *Law of Nature*,

Nature, have a *greater* Authority over their Children, than *Kings* have over their Subjects; and yet, if a Father comes to kill his Child, he is not oblig'd to *ſubmit*, and open his Breaſt to the *Dagger*; or hold up his *Throat*, whilſt his *Father* cuts it! No; *Nature*, *Common Senſe*, *Self-preſervation*, *and the Practice of all Nations*, is too powerful for the Sophiſtry of ſuch Principles; and thoſe that cannot *reaſon*, can *feel* what they are to do in ſuch Caſes.

Grotius ſays, The King muſt be bereav'd of his *Wits*, that attempts the Deſtruction of his whole People; but grants that they do ſometimes deſtroy one Part, for the ſake of another; (as *King James*'s Deſign was, to deſtroy the *Proteſtants*, in favour of the *Papiſts*; and the *Engliſh*, in favour of the *Iriſh*;) but ſays, he ought not to be *Obey'd* in ſuch Frentick Depopulations. And if *Grotius* thinks the *Prince Mad* that attempts it, we may conclude them *little* better, that miſ-apply their Parts, to *defend* it: For, tho' the Scripture commands Obedience to Authority, without *Exception*; yet

in Cases of *Certain*, *Apparent*, and *Extream Necessity*, such as ours was in the *late* Reign, it may as Reasonably be presum'd to be *Excepted* out of that General Rule, as Works of Mercy and Charity were allow'd upon the *Sabbath-day*, by our *Blessed Saviour*. 'Tis the Right of Kings, that we *Obey* them; and suffer *Private* Injuries, rather than destroy the *Publick* Peace: But 'tis *the Right of God* that we *Disobey* them, when their Wills oppose his Divine Laws, or Common Safety.

2. It is dangerous to Kings themselves, as it invests them with a Power to do more than they *Ought*, which at one time or other will be turn'd upon themselves; for where *Fear* and *Terrour* are the only Foundations of *Obedience*, the Seed of *Resistance* will be growing up: Men may bear the Yoke of Servile Subjection, for a while, with Patience; but if it galls their Shoulders by a sharp and long Continuance, they will bethink themselves how to throw it off: Therefore the Way for Princes to *keep* their Power, is, to exercise it with *Lenity*; and to grasp

at

at no more, than what tends to the Subject's *Eaſe*, as well as their own *Superiority* over them.

This makes a *Prince* Supream by his *Virtue*, as well as his *Character*; and ſo *Indears* his Subjects *Duty*, that he cannot raiſe his *Thoughts* above the Pitch of their *Obedience*: Whereas, if he acts like the late *King James*, and Inſiſts upon *Obedience without Reſerve*, and will force a Neceſſary and *Reciprocal* Duty into Extremity of *Slavery*, it will put his Subjects into the ſame Humour, and learn them, by his Example, to exceed the Bounds of their Allegiance. All Compulſary Methods, Indirect Courſes, and Stretches of Power, are a kind of *Foul* Play; and he that uſes it himſelf, does, by Implication, allow it thoſe he plays with; as the late King found, by a dear-bought Experience.

Mighty Nations may be upheld by *Abſolute Power*; but the Narrow Territories of *England* muſt be ſupported by Juſtice, or the Door will be ſet open to the Next better Comer. For tho' the *Britiſh* Nation, generally ſpeaking, are great *Lovers* of *Monarchy*,

narchy, yet they perfectly hate *Tyranny*; and as they were *born* Free, so they love to *continue* in that happy Condition, as their *Right*, and not upon the *Precarious* Condescentions of a Superiour Power.

3. 'Tis Destructive to the *Being* and *Safety* of the *People*; for a Single Arm, Unresisted, is able to Assassinate a whole Kingdom. *Passive Obedience* has no other Tendency, than to *Invite Destroyers*; and, without being oblig'd to their own *Ill Nature*, Courts them to exert their *Cruelties* in our Utter Extirpation, and at once destroy all the Laws of the Land. I would fain know to what purpose *Laws* are made in our *Defence*, if we must have no *Benefit* by them; and whether *Jaustering* this Principle, is not to bind the Subjects *Hand* and *Foot*, and leave nothing but poor *suffering* Souls in the whole Kingdom, as often as the Sovereign is pleas'd to exercise his Arbitrary Jurisdiction?

Inventing this Doctrine, and giving it a Currency through the whole Land, look'd as if the Authors and Promoters of it were fishing for *Expedients*

pedients to Ruin the Kingdom; trying *Experiments*, how high their *King* could *provoke*, and how low and meanly we could *submit* to his Arbitrary Injunctions. They shew'd a *Wantonness* in their Impositions, and a *Luxury* in abusing the Patience and Quietude of the Nation, till Vengeance overtook them. 'Tis the Scandal of *English-Men*, that they are fond of *Novelties*; and these State-Brokers were willing to keep up the Reproach in the highest Instances: But, sure, they could not, in their *Lucid Intervals*, imagine there was any Pleasure in *Irish Massacres*, or think that *Wooden-Shoes* would sit easie on *English* Feet; and therefore were unkind in Tempting the late *King* to be Cruel, whose Inclinations wanted no Spur to quicken his *Zeal* for our Destruction.

But to do these Sticklers all the Right we can, and yet silence them for ever, their *Practices* are the best Confutations of their *Principles*; for, tho' when other Men smarted, they felt no Pain; yet, when they saw Sacrilegious Hands seize their *Preferments*, and that the *Swords* of their

Artificial *Forging* were like to pierce their own Bowels, they began to *Diſtinguiſh* away this Deſtructive Doctrine, *Propoſe* Methods to prevent their *Ruin*, and, for the Generality of them, were as *forward* as any, to Invite, and Join with our Great Deliverer. Now, ſince the very Gentlemen that hatch'd, and ſhew'd this Monſter in Government, have with their own Hands taken down the Cloth, they have prov'd my Aſſertion; *viz.* That the Doctrine of *Paſſive Obedience, directed to theſe Ill Ends*, is Falſe in its Application, Dangerous to Kings, Deſtructive to the People, and ought to be reduc'd to its Primitive Standard, or, as they *employ'd it*, to be baniſh'd the World.

Non-Reſiſtance, link'd with Paſſive Obedience, is but uſing *more* Words to expreſs the *ſame* thing; and I ſhould have wholly over-look'd it, as a *Frivolous*, if not a *Ridiculous* Addition, but that it gives me an Opportunity to confute the whole Deſign of Inſlaving the Kingdom, by ſhewing,

That

That in Cases of General, Evident, and Extream Necessity, for the Preservation of a Kingdom, such as ours was under the Dominion of the Late King James, *'tis lawful for Subjects, in their own Defence, to oppose a King that would destroy them.*

And here I have a very *Tender* Point to handle, lest I should seem to encourage *Sedition*, or humour those *that are given to Change*; which is as far from my *Intentions*, and as contrary to my *Inclinations*, as the two Poles are distant one from another. I am endeavouring to beget a good Opinion of our *present Settlement*, to keep Men in a *quiet Obedience* to the Government, to live in *Peace* and *Charity* one with another, to remove the *Prejudices* that some have conceiv'd against the Methods that were us'd to remove the late *King James*, and placing *King William* in the Vacant Throne: And to procure these *Good Ends*, I am obligid to shew our *Resisting him*, as Affairs were then Circumstantiated, was *Lawful*, and *Justifiable*, both in the *Action*, and *Intention*; and therein am so far from Encouraging *Sedition*, that I have

have all along restrain'd the Subjects *Resistance* to Cases of *General*, *Evident*, and *Extream Necessity*; and never to be attempted, but upon such Emergencies. To every *Good King*, and Lawful Government, we have as many Ties of *Obedience*, as there are Christian *Vertues*; and he must Renounce his *Christianity*, that forsakes his *Allegiance*; for Obedience is a Duty which we *Religiously* owe to *God*, which we *Naturally* owe to our *Parents*, which we *Morally* owe to our *Laws*, and which we Religiously, Naturally and Legally owe our *Sovereign*, as he is *God*'s Vicegerent, *Father* of his Country, and our *Liege* Lord. This is the Prince's Due, and the Subject's Duty; and, to prevent Mistakes, will be further explain'd in the following *Character* of a *True English* Subject.

He is one that Quietly, and Contentedly, moves in his own Sphere, without Intermeddling in *Nice* and *Secret* Matters of *State*, that are out of his *Reach*, and Inconsistent with his *Duty*; that heartily Obeys the *King*, in all his Commands that do not thwart the Laws of *God*, *Nature*,

Nature, or his Country; that *Honours, Loves* and *Defends* the *King's Perſon, Crown* and *Dignity*, and *Chearfully* Contributes to the Support of his *Government*; that makes his *Private* Concerns ſtoop to the *Publick* Good, and Suſtains thoſe Loſſes with *Patience* that he ſuffers for the *Common* Intereſt: One that can diſtinguiſh betwixt *Slaviſh Fear*, and *Religious Obedience*; betwixt the *Intereſt* and Cauſe of a *whole Nation*, and the *Clamours* and Diſcontents of a *Litigious* and *Incorrigible Faction*: One that will be *True* to his *King*, without being Falſe to his *God*, or Treacherous to his *Country*. And, to conclude, One that (like the Poet's Dyal) always ſtands *True*, tho' the Sun of *Reward*, or *Favour*, never ſhines upon him.

In this Portraicture of an *Engliſh* Subject in *Little*, you may ſee the whole Deſign of Chriſtianity on this Subject; which is, Keeping every thing within its *proper* Bounds, without Needleſs *Increments*, or Criminal *Abatements* of Royal Authority, which always terminate in Vanity, or *Wickedneſs*; and conſequently, are

are extreamly prejudicial to the *Receiver*, and *Detractor*.

'Tis the Evil in the Increaſe and Uſe of Power, that thoſe declaim againſt, who are for no more than a *Legal* Obedience; for *Non-Reſiſtance*, in its proper Latitude, has its true *Weight* and *Value* with us, as much as any other *Chriſtian Duty*; and tho' we cannot ſwallow it ſo *Glibly*, as it was Adulterated in the late Preſcription, (to ſerve a Temporizing Intereſt, abſtracted from the Publick Good,) yet that does not hinder us from *Digeſting* it better, and Practiſing it more *Dutifully*, and *Conſtantly*, than thoſe who were as Ready to Throw it up, as they were to *Imbibe* it; or that ſtill *Retain* it, to do further Miſchief. And having thus ſecur'd our Loyalty and Fidelity to our *Sovereign*, under this Suppoſition, I ſhall re-aſſume the Argument for *Reſiſtance*, when the Neceſſity of it is as *Certain*, and *General*, as ours was.

All differing Perſons about *Non-Reſiſtance* agree in this, That if a King is reſolutely bent to *Deſtroy* his Subjects, and that no *Perſwaſion* can alter

alter his Purpoſe; but that he ſtocks himſelf with ſuch *Miniſters* and *Officers* as will co-operate with him in the execution of his Tragical Deſigns; his Subjects may *Deſert* him, Decline his Government and Service, and ſeek *Protection* where they can find it. Of this Opinion is the Excellent *Grotius*, *Barclay*, *Puſendorf*, *Bodin*, Biſhop *Bilſon*, Biſhop *Sanderſon*, Dr. *Hammond*, and Mr. *Falkener*. I confeſs they ſay the caſe is *not* to be put, as almoſt impoſſible to happen; yet I think it but Reaſonable to ſuppoſe it here, becauſe I ſhall prove it in the Sequel beyond Contradiction, that the late King *James* was under a *neceſſity* of deſtroying his *Proteſtant* Subjects, that all his *Actions* openly declared it, and therefore may ſay, with the Author of *Jovian*, That 'twas *Lawful to reſiſt him*, ſince he himſelf has ſaid in the ſame Page, That he ſhould be tempted *to pray for the Deſtruction of ſuch a Prince, as the only means of delivering the Church*; and for that Reaſon I am charitably inclin'd to think, that the great Promoters of *Non-Reſiſtance* never intended

tended this Doctrine ſhould extend beyond *Private* and *Tolerable* Evils; for ſtretching it to *Intolerable* and *Univerſal* Miſchiefs, would have proclaim'd 'em void of *Sence* and common *Diſcretion*, as well as *Humanity*, which can no way agree with ſome of their Characters.

Sober Men would ſoon be agreed about the Reſiſtance pleaded for, if they were not more prejudic'd againſt the *Word*, than againſt what is intended in the *Thing*, either as to the *Object* or *End* of it; for to reſiſt *Violent Uſurpations*, and *Horrid Cruelties*, is not Reſiſting the *Supreme Authority*, or the *Ordinance* of God, but oppoſing *Murderers*, and *Cut-Throats*, who under Venerable *Diſguiſes* are Deſtroying the People, and covering the Land with *Blood* and *Carnage*.

Names and Titles can never *Sanctifie* or Alter the Nature of *Facts*, the thing *done*, and the Manner and End of doing it will *denominate* the Action: For tho as *King* he may put his Subjects to Death by *form* of Law, he cannot *kill* or otherwiſe deſtroy them without it, but at the

ſame

ſame time he gives himſelf another Epithet, looſes the Right he *had*, and ceaſes to be a *King* by ſuch repeated Acts of *Illegality* and *Tyranny*.

The *Ends* of Government (which is the *Peoples Good*) are as *Sacred* as the *Prince's Authority*; and if, as the Apoſtle ſays, he be not to us the *Miniſter of God for Good*, he looſes the Title of *God's Miniſter*, for *his Servants they are whom they obey*. St. *Paul* never Intended to Abrogate the Laws of *Nature*, which gives every Individual Perſon a *Right* to his *Own*, nor Expoſe Men to *Beggary*, *Slavery*, *Inevitable Ruine here*, *and Damnation hereafter*; for Reſiſting a *Prince* that was ingaged to *deſtroy* his *People*; ſince no Man that has not loſt the uſe of his *Reaſon*, can believe that *Murdering*, *Ruining*, *and Inſlaving the Bodies and Souls of the People*, is any part of *Civil Government*, or that *Reſiſting* an *Implacable Tyrant*, is Reſiſting the *Ordinance of God*; when 'tis plain that God never gave him any *ſuch* Authority.

To

To say that such Kings are set up by the Almighty, as a *Punishment* for our Sins, is no Argument against *Resistance*, but a strong one for it; for the *Pestilence*, *Famine*, and the *Sword* of Foreign Enemies, are all of them Evils *sent* by God for the punishment of our Offences; yet I think no Man will say but we ought by all *Natural* and *Humane Indeavours* to free our selves from those Calamities, without an immediate Revelation. The like may be said of Tyrants; for the contrary would level us with *Beasts*, which may be *Sold*, *Kill'd* and *Devour'd*, at the Will of those that have power over them. So that from what has been said, 'tis evident that Resisting *Tyrants*, is not Resisting the Supreme *Authority*, but *Defending* our selves against the Insults of a *Destroyer*, under the cover of another Title. This Consideration will set us *right*, and not Rob us of the pleasant Idea's that spring from our *Deliverance*; for if any, for by Ends, deny what has been said above to be a Truth *now*, they will be of another Mind at

at the Day of *Judgment*, when things ſhall appear as they *are*.

The Ends of Reſiſtance, and Self-Defence, does alſo prove the *Lawfulneſs* of it, as it Reſpects the *King*, or his *Subjects*, who are equally concern'd in the Benefit of it. Is it not better for a King to *Aſſure* his Authority by rendring it *Juſt* and *Moderate*, than expoſe it to danger by *Arbitrary* Attempts? Is it not better to comply with the *kind Perſuaſions* and *Dutiful Admoniſhments* of his true Friends, and Faithful Counſellors, (which is always preſumed to go before *Actual Reſiſtance*) than to feel the bad Effects of his own miſguided Will? *Cicero* ſays, * By this means the *Romans* eſtabliſh'd their Empire, in ſharing the Advantages of it among the *People*, whoſe Obedience is ſecur'd by *Acts of Grace*, and *Protection from Danger*; and truly did not the boundleſs Ambition of *Unwary Monarchs* blind the Eyes of their *Reaſon* from diſcerning their *True* and *Laſting Intereſts*, they *would* never run into ſuch Extreams of *Arbitrary* Sway, as render'd their Govern-

* *Cicero* pro Balb.

ment *Odious*, and their Perſons *Hated*.

No King in *Europe* has more his *own Will*, and lives more *happily*, than He which conforms his Inclinations and Actions to the Senſe of the *Law*, and the *Love* of his People; and in this Senſe he may be as *Abſolute* as he pleaſes, without Overturning the World to accompliſh it: He can *Deſire* nothing, but what will be *freely* Granted him; nor *Do* any thing, that will be Diſtaſted. And what can the *greateſt Monarch* in the World deſire more, than to have his Wants *Liberally* Supply'd, his Actions *Univerſally* Approv'd, and Applauded? This, and no other End, is the Deſign of the Reſiſtance contended for, but that a Prince, *miſguided* by ill Counſel, may, without Injury to his *Perſon*, or Diminution to his *Rightful* Authority, (if fair Means can prevail,) be Reclaim'd from Violating the Rights of his Subjects, and brought to a Temper conſiſtent with his *Own*, and his *Subjects* Happineſs: And if any Ill-minded Men carry it further, we can only ſay, that the *Abuſe* of a Thing,

Thing, does not impeach the *Lawful* Uſe of it: Let thoſe that *offend* the Law, ſuffer for the *Breach* of it.

Another End of *Reſiſtance*, is, the Good of the People; for when all other Means to reduce the Prince into a right Temper, has, with all due Reſpect, and Submiſſion, been us'd, but effected nothing; then, and not before, Reſiſtance is neceſſary; for our Privileges are granted by the *ſame* Laws, by which the Prince has *his* Authority; and makes an *Univerſal* Defection, or Reſiſtance, lawful, when all would be Ruin'd without it; for the Doctrine of *Non-Reſiſtance* is not of Conſtant and Eternal Obligation, in all Circumſtances. Calling to Account, are Acts of Authority; but Reſiſtance for *Self-Defence*, is a Right of *Nature*, and Inalienable. In every Province and Kingdom of the Univerſe, we may find Inſtances where Subjects have been neceſſitated to ſecure *Themſelves*, their *Religion*, and *Liberties*, by Reſiſting their Prince, whoſe repeated *Acts of Tyranny* did viſibly threaten their *Ruin*; and this was always look'd upon as a ſuffi-

cient Reaſon to diſpence with their *Allegiance*, eſpecially when the Neceſſity was not *pretended*, or Created, by themſelves; but apparently forc'd on them by their Prince, who was oblig'd to preſerve them. When our *Saviour* was walking in the Garden, and expected the *Jews* to come and Seize him by Violence, he was pleas'd to command, *that he which had a Sword, ſhould take it*; and being told there were *Two Swords*, he ſaid, it was *Enough*. How Enough? Not to encounter the *Arm'd* Multitude that came along with *Judas!* he could not think ſo! But they were Enough to let his Diſciples know, that upon *ſuch* Occaſions they had a Right to defend themſelves. In Extream *Dangers*, we are allow'd to make uſe of Extream *Remedies*.

Former Ages, it ſeems, were Strangers to the Doctrine of *Non-Reſiſtance*; for Reſiſtance has been allow'd by *Kings* themſelves. *Henry* the Second allow'd it, by cauſing his Barons to Swear, that if he ſhould not perform the Covenants between himſelf, the King of *France*, and *Richard*

* Truſſel's Hiſtory of his Reign.

chard Earl of *Poictou*, his Son; *they ſhould renounce him, and join with the King of* France, *and Earl* Richard, *againſt him.* *Richard* the Firſt, when he went to War in the *Holy Land*, ſubſtituted *William* Biſhop of *Ely*, and Lord Chancellor of *England*, to Govern in his Abſence; who *abuſing* his Authority, the *Biſhops*, *Earls* and *Barons* having *Routed* his Party, they *Depos'd* and *Baniſh'd* him; and theſe Proceedings were approv'd, and confirm'd by the King himſelf, at his Return. So that in thoſe Early Days the *Nobility*, *Clergy* and *People* had no Apprehenſions of an Irreſiſtible Power in Kings, and thoſe Commiſſion'd by them, when they found their Power grew *Tyrannical*, and Unſupportable.

King *John* attempting to deſtroy the Liberties and Privileges of his Subjects, granted by *Magna Charta*, the *Biſhops*, *Barons*, and Great Men of the Kingdom, of all Degrees, and Conditions, took up Arms againſt him, and never laid them down, till the *King*, and the *Prince*, his Son, had ſworn upon the *Holy Evangeliſts*, to maintain the Subjects *Privileges*;

and if they ſhould break them, that it ſhould be lawful for his Subjects *to Renounce their King, and to gain them by Force:* And this was never accounted *Rebellion*; for the Pardon that follow'd it, was mutual, not only for thoſe that adher'd to the *Earl of Glouceſter*, but for thoſe alſo that took part with the *King*.

In the Reign of *Edward* the Second, this Doctrine of *Reſiſtance* was aſſerted upon ſeveral Occaſions; and ſo groſs were the Enormities of this Prince, that in an Act of *Indempnity*, in the Firſt of *Edward* the Third, the particular Illegal Acts of the *King*, his *Father*, are recited, and all that Reſiſted him, are Pardon'd, without loading their Memories with Reproachful Epithets.

Henry Duke of Glouceſter oppos'd the *Tyranny* of *Richard* the Second, and had the Crown for his pains; and thoſe that came over with him were *pardon'd* in decent Language, without calling them *Rebels*, or *Traytors*. So that, it ſeems, the Parliaments of *Edward* the Third, and *Henry* the Fourth, that Paſs'd theſe Acts of *Indempnity*, had no ill Opi-

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nion of the Doctrine of *Reſiſtance in Caſes of Extream Neceſſity*. To which, give me Leave to add the Opinion of a *Learned* Man on this Subject, and I ſhall eaſe the Reader of further Trouble: 'Tis * *Gerſon* the famous *Chancellor* of the Univerſity of *Paris*; who ſays, *'Tis an Errour to aſſert, that an Earthly Prince, as long as his Dominion laſts, is not engag'd to his Subjects in any thing; for, according to the Divine Law, Natural Equity, and the true End of Power; as Subjects owe their Prince Fidelity, Subſidy, and Obedience; ſo their Prince owes them Fidelity, and Protection; and in caſe he does Publickly, Obſtinately, and Imperiouſly oppreſs them, their Natural Right takes place, and makes it Lawful for them to Repel Force by Force.* So that the late

* Opuſc. adverſ. Adulat. conſid. 7.

King James has no Reaſon to complain of *Hard* Meaſure from his late Subjects: For, if the King of *England* be a *Limited* Prince, as certainly he is, and bound by Oath to Govern according to *Law*, and that his Authority depends upon the *Right Exerciſe* of it, and can claim no *Allegiance*, but upon thoſe *Conditions*,

they are not to blame; for they did not Desert or Resist him, till he had *Renounc'd* to be their *King* according to the *Constitution*, by avowing to Govern by a *Despotick* Power, unknown to the Constitution, and Inconsistent with it.

The Breach was first made on his part, by *Renouncing* to be their *King* according to the *Law* that made him *King*; that is, *such a King as he Swore to be at his Coronation; such a King, to whom the Obedience, and Allegiance, of* English *Subjects are due*; and Setting up a *Dominion*, which, to all Intents and Purposes, was as manifest an *Abdication*, or *Abandoning* his Legal Title, as if had done it by Express Words, or Formal Deed. So that 'tis plain, his Subjects did not Desert or Resist him, till he had *Abdicated* his *Kingship*, and Licens'd them to provide for themselves, under another *Monarch*, that would govern according to the *Laws* of the *English* Constitution, which he had Renounc'd.

If the *Intreaties*, *Persuasions*, *Admonitions*, *Addresses*, or *Petitions*, of the Greatest Men of all Qualities in

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the Kingdom, could have prevail'd with him to have done himſelf, and his Subjects, Juſtice, the *Crown* had been ſtill upon his Head, and his Subjects *happy* under him: But he poſitively refus'd all Advices, but what tended to his Ruin; and neither his good Subjects *Prayers*, the *Fear* of God, the *Love* he ought to have born to his own Country, now on the Brink of Deſtruction, nor his own *Intereſt*, could influence him to Act Reaſonably, or ſee his own Ruin, before an *Obſtinate* Perſeverance had render'd it deſperate! What then muſt his Subjects do? To content our ſelves with Praying to *God* only for our Deliverance, were to exclude the Meaſures of Humane *Prudence*. We take not thoſe Methods when our Houſes are on *Fire*, or a *Mad-man* comes to cut our *Throats*. To wait for his *Death*, had been to make our ſelves miſerable while he *liv'd*: And by ſuffering his *Arbitrary Power* to *Increaſe*, and take *Deeper* Footing, was, to have Entail'd *Slavery* upon our Poſterities; and to have expected a Miracle for his *Converſion*, was, to

ſuffer

ſuffer the *Fate* of a whole Kingdom, to depend upon a Senſleſs and Dubious *Peradventure*: All which being ſeriouſly conſider'd, nothing in the World will appear more Reaſonable, Juſt, and Neceſſary, than our *Self-Defence*, againſt the Exorbitancies of *James* the Second, and providing for our ſelves without his Concurrence; it being not in the Deſign of *God*, or *Nature*, or in the Power of *Art*, to make that Man happy, who, inſtead of Co-operating to it, Acts directly againſt it: And therefore, his Intereſt was not ſo conſiderable, as to be preferr'd before the Safety of the Kingdom, and the Lives and Fortunes of his *Quondam* Subjects, which were ſnatched, as *Brands* out of the *Fire*, by the Doctrine of *Reſiſting* in our *Own* Defence.

'Tis true, the Promoters of *Slavery*, under the Umbrage of Non-reſiſtance fall very heavy upon this *Innocent* Principle, and upbraid the Notion as oppoſite to the Law of *God*, to the Law of *Nature*, and to the Laws of our own *Land*; but a brief diſcuſſion of their ſuggeſtions, will

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ſhew their *Lyon* is not ſo fierce as they have painted him. The Holy Scripture does command Obedience to Authority without *Exceptions*, and forbids *Reſiſtance* of the Supreme Power under ſevere *Penalties*; but it ſeems very hard that Religion ſhould weaken our Arm in defence of it ſelf, and force our Obedience to a Power ſet up to Ruin it; and therefore unleſs our Adverſaries can prove this *General* prohibition is extended in the Deſign of the *Lawgiver*, to all caſes of *Apparent*, and *Extream Neceſſity*, ſuch as ours was under the late Reign (which I am aſſur'd they cannot do) they ſay nothing to the *purpoſe*; for we urge it no farther, and equally abhor it when it *exceeds* thoſe Caſes as a Doctrine *inconſiſtent* with Chriſtianity; but yet we ſay alſo that Non-reſiſtance is not always obliging, as affairs may be circumſtantiated.

General Precepts, or Prohibitions, are always to be underſtood with *particular* exceptions to unforeſeen accidents, and makes what was *forbidden* at ſome time, and in ſome caſes, become our *Duty* in others.

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Therefore Men must not run into a *Triumph* when a Text or two, seems to favour their opinion; for as an *Ingenious* Author observes, *Eternal Righteousness, Justice and Truth, Upright Honesty, the Right of the Case, and the Reason of the thing*, must always govern the sense of Scriptural expressions. *Saul* was an Anointed *King*, and yet *David* had commission from God Almighty to make War against him when he transgressed the bounds that God had set him. And it may be shew'd in many Instances, (tho' scarce parallel with our *Dreadful* circumstances under the Reign of *James* the Second,) where Resistance was not only allow'd but commended. The Judges of *Israel* who must be presum'd to know the Law of God *better* than others, and *were fill'd with the Spirit of God*, in all their Actions incourag'd the *Israelites* to rise in *Arms* against their *Princes* who kept them in continual bondage, and slavery, and the Names of *Deborah, Barach, Gideon, Abimelec, Jeptha, Samson, &c.* are celebrated upon the same occasion.

Nor is the Law of *Nature* againſt Reſiſtance in caſes of *Extream Neceſſity*, and I wonder how any Man can urge the *contrary*, ſince it both Aſſerts and Approves it. The Law of *Nature* ſays the incomparable *Grotius* is a Judgment or Inſtinct of *Right Reaſon*, which Judges by the conformity and contrariety of an Action with *Reaſonable Nature*, what there is in every action of moral *turpitude*, or moral *goodneſs*, and how far it is commanded or forbidden by the *Author* of Nature. Now *Right Reaſon* tells us it is Reaſonable to defend our *Lives* againſt the Attempts of every *unlawful* Aggreſſor. And Mr. *Hobbs*, who can never be ſuſpected to give too little power to *Kings*, or too much to the *People*, ſays 'tis the *Firſt* principle of *Natural* Right, for every Man to defend his *Life* and his *Limbs*, by all means that he poſſibly can; for tho' when Communities and Societies are *form'd*, this *Right* of Defending, and Avenging our ſelves, devolves upon the Supreme Magiſtrate, and conſequently makes it unlawful for us to kill a Man that en-

endeavours to *Aſſaſſinate* us, if we can prevent his *efforts* by addreſſing our ſelves to *Juſtice*; yet if by that means we cannot ſecure our lives, *that Neceſſity* puts us in poſſeſſion of our *Natural Right*, and our own *Arm* becomes our Magiſtrate, and gives us Authority to defend our own lives, tho' (if it cannot be avoided) with the loſs of the Aggreſſors. Let us put the Caſe.

Suppoſe a Prince had *reſolv'd* on a deſign to *Kill* his Subjects, that he ſolemnly ſwore to protect; what are the Subjects to do in this condition; To ſay they will implore the aſſiſtance of the *Laws* was to *mock* them, and *delude* our ſelves, for they cannot reſiſt *Dragoons* and *Fire-Locks*. To go to the *King* is to no purpoſe; he is in the *Deſign*, and ſo far engaged, that he thinks in *Conſcience* he cannot go back, and is therefore ſtocking himſelf with a ſett of Men, that will not *boggle* at the execution of it. In ſuch a Caſe this *Abſolute Neceſſity* (where the Society muſt periſh for want of Protection) puts us in poſſeſſion of our *Natural Right* to defend our ſelves; for none

none has a *power* in *Right* of his own *Will* to take away our *Lives*, but the Almighty power that *gave* them.

If an *Inferior* Magiſtrate, Governor of a Province, or City, Rebels againſt the *King* from whom he received his Authority, in order to deprive him of his *Crown* and *Dignity*, none will ſcruple to reſiſt him in defence of the *King*, who is Supreme Lord both of *him* and *us*: And by the ſame Reaſon may a Sovereign *Prince* be Reſiſted that Uſurps upon the *Rights of God*; for no Prince is more *Superior* to his *Subalterns*, than God Almighty is to all the *Kings* and *Potentates* of the whole Earth.

Reaſon and *Religion* command, and commend a dutiful ſubmiſſion to Authority; but neither *Reaſon*, *Nature*, nor *Religion*, obliges us to comply with the *Sovereignty* of the *Creature*, to the prejudice of the *Creator*, or ſubſcribe to ſuch orders of an *Arbitrary* Prince, as manifeſtly oppoſe the *Rights* of God, unleſs we are fond of Inheriting the Title of being *Cruel* to our *ſelves*, *Unnatural* to our *Children*, and profeſs'd *Enemies* of our *Country*, for tho' ſlavery may be

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the *misfortune* of good People, to submit to it can never be their Duty.

Another great Engine wherewith our Adversaries serve themselves to batter down the Doctrine of *Resistance*, is the Law of the *Land*, and particularly the *Act of Parliament* made in the 13th of King *Charles* the Second, which seems in their apprehensions, to extirpate this Principal *Root* and *Branch*; tho' I believe 'twill fail them, when we have consider'd the *Occasion* of that Law, and the *Intention* of the Ligislators. And this I hope to do with a *Modesty* suitable to the great *Veneration* and Esteem that is due to those *August* Assemblies, Acts of Parliament (in my opinion) being only subject to the Censure of those that have a *Right* and *Power* to make them. And yet I hope, with submission, 'twill not be indecent to say that Laws made in extraordinary Heats are not Regular Obligations, nor ought to let *Loose* the Kings Hands and *Tie* up the Subjects.

England had been long *Harrass'd*, *Enslav'd*, and almost *Ruin'd*, by an

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Unnatural War; *Scandaliz'd* by the *Murther* of a *King*, under Forms of *Law*, and *Juſtice*; *Oppreſs'd* by the *Tyranny* of their *Fellow-Subjects*; and wearied out with *changes* of Governments, and *variety* of afflictions. Sometimes a Common-Wealth, the Keepers of the Liberties of *England*, a *Rump* Parliament, then two ſucceſſive *Protectors*, a Council of *Officers*, a Committee of *Safety*, the *Rump* reſtor'd; another Committee of *Officers*; the Fag-end again; the *Secluded* Members; a *Junto* that brought in *King Charles* the Second, and deliver'd *England* out of Cruel Servitude, that was ſo ſick with changing *Maſters*, that when King *Charles* was Inthron'd, and call'd a *Parliament*, (which chiefly conſiſted of *Sufferers* under the late *Mock*-Governments, or the Perſons, Sons, or Relations, of ſuch as had been in actual War againſt the *Parliament*, or Sufferers for *Charles* the firſt) the *Exceſs* of Joy that attended their *Deliverance*, and a Reſolution to prevent ſuch Commotions and troubles for the *future*, ſo tranſported them, that they thought

they could never do enough to *Greaten* their Monarch, or discountenance the late *Republicans*; and therefore in the *heat* of their *Zeal*, tho' they *aim'd* well, might overshoot the mark, and stretch the *Prerogative* of the *King*, and the *Obedience* of the Subject, beyond their ordinary Limits, and like *Fond Bridegrooms*, give away more Authority in a *Week*, than they could Redeem in their *whole Lives*; which has been too often practis'd in *England* in former times, in hopes to oblige their Monarchs, tho' as often attended with Sorrow and Repentance, and these, or at leastwise some of these things might be the occasion of that Law.

For it could never be the *Intention* of a Parliament to make the most Violent and Illegal Actions of *Arbitrary* power wholly Irresistable, or pull down the excellent structure of a *Limited* Monarchy, and set up an Absolute Despotick *Tyranny*, where the *King and those commission'd by him* might do what they pleas'd with our *Religion*, *Lives*, and Estates, and make it *Treason* to resist in *any* case

caſe whatſoever. Was not this to give away their *own* ſhare in the *Legiſlative* Power, and contradict the Preamble of every *Act* of Parliament, which ſays, all Laws are made *by the conſent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons aſſembled in Parliament, and by the Authority of the ſame*, never failing to inſert thoſe Words? And that this would have been the inevitable conſequence of ſuch an *Unlimited* obligation upon the People, is plain, for what makes a King *Abſolute*, but that his Subjects are under a neceſſity of *Obeying him without reſerve*, *i. e.* never to oppoſe his commands in *any* caſe whatſoever. And to confirm my ſelf that they never intended ſuch a *breach* in our conſtitution, is becauſe the extravagancy of the Act with ſuch a deſign, would have accus'd both their *prudence* and *Fidelity*.

Judge *Cook* in his Inſtitutes, ſays that Laws made againſt *Right* Reaſon, and the Law of *Nature* are void in themſelves; and then there's no neceſſity of obeying them *longer* than till we are in a capacity to *deny* or

diſpute it; what Man of Common Senſe can believe that ſo *many* Wiſe Men (how good an opinion ſoever they might have of the King *then* in the Throne) would Arm all his *Succeſſors* with a power as *Deſpotick* and *Abſolute* as the great *Turk*, who may have the *Heads*, and *Eſtates* of his Subjects as often as he pleaſes to command them.

The laſt Argument I ſhall uſe to ſhew that that Parliament did not *Intend* to couch the People under ſuch an *Intire* and *Univerſal* Submiſſion as is maintain'd by our Adverſaries, is becauſe they had no Power to do it; for no *Power* can reach beyond the *Reaſon* of its Inſtitution, which is, *to preſerve the Lives and Priviledges of the People*, and not make 'em *Slaves* and *Vaſſals* to a *Delegated* Authority. Who can believe that the Nation ever Intruſted any ſort of Men with a Power to *deſtroy* them, or to Surrender their *All* into the Hands of a Cruel *Tyrant*? As *Repreſentatives* of the People they could have no more Power than the People could give them, nor could it be extended beyond

yond theirs from whom it was *derived*, or that is allow'd by the Law of *Nature*,

Nam quodcunq; ſuis mutatum finibus exit. Lucrit. l. 1
Continuo hoc mors eſt illius. quod fuit ante.

——Since what doth its limits paſs
By change, quite periſhes from what it was.

becauſe it was not in their power to grant it. No Man can licence another to kill him, becauſe the conſent is *Unnatural*, and Null and Void in it ſelf; ſo no *Community* can give any perſons power to *deſtroy* them, either directly or by conſequence; for 'tis prepoſterous in *Nature* that the Means ſhould be deſtructive in the End, and that thoſe that were ſubſtituted for our *Preſervation* ſhould be the Inſtruments of our *Ruin*; which muſt neceſſarily follow if they Intended by that Law to Inveſt all our *Princes* with a Power to do whatever they *pleaſe*, and that in no caſe *whatſoever* they might be

Reſiſted; to which I ſhall add no more, till I have anſwer'd the Calumny of the *Papiſts*, who charge the Revolution upon the Principles of our Religion.

Pere d'Orleans the Jeſuit, with deſign to draw off the *Roman Catholick Princes* from a * Confederacy with King *William* and other *Proteſtant Princes* for the preſervation of *Europe*, and to perſwade them to unite their *Arms* with thoſe of *France*, and the late King *James*; on whoſe ſucceſs (as he ſays) depends the Glory and Stability of the Popiſh Religion, after he has *ſcandalouſly* told them that this Confederacy *was a Combination againſt God and his Meſſias*, the ſubtle *Miſſionary* would inſinuate that the late *King* was *Depos'd* merely upon the account of his *Religion*, and that if he had been of *no* Religion, or any thing but a *Papiſt*, he had never loſt his *Crown*; which is a great Calumny, and to ſay no worſe a *wilful* miſtake, for in *Antient* times, long before the *Reformation* had footing in *England*, and when the profeſſion of the *ſame* Religion ty'd Men in *one* Communion

* *Revolution d'Angleterre, Tom. 3. p. 395.*

nion, and Worſhip; and when there could be no Apprehenſion of *Grudges*, upon the Pretence of *Different* Perſuaſions in Religion; there were equal *Animoſities* and *Struglings* between the Antient *Britains*, and their *Kings*, as often as they thought their Laws and Liberties were in danger of being Invaded or *Deſtroy'd* by them. None that converſe with *Hiſtory* can be ignorant, that the ſame *Innate* and *Congenial* Temper has always ſway'd theſe Northern Climates, in all Ages within the Reach of Hiſtory; and was obſerv'd to be *Predominate* by *Julius Cæſar* himſelf, in his own Reign here. *Tacitus* has an Inſtance, very applicable to this purpoſe: * *The* Britains, ſaith he, *are eaſily aſſembl'd, pay Taxes freely, and execute Offices in the Government chearfully, if no Injuries be offer'd them; for they are willing Subjects, but impatient under Slavery.* When they were under the Power of the *Normans*, they had often Recourſe to their *Arms*, to prevent the *Incroachments*, and abate the *Oppreſſions*

* Ipſi *Britanni* ſelectum, & tributa, & injuncta Imperii munera impigre obeunt; ſi Injuriæ abſint, has ægre tolerant, jam domiti ut pareant nondum ut ſerviant. Tacit. *in Vita* Agricolæ, *Sect.* 13.

ſions of that Race of Kings, although they were *All* of the *ſame* Religion; as is apparent in the Reign of *William* the Firſt, who, upon the Oppoſition he met with, relinquiſh'd his Pretence to *Conqueſt*, and ſwore to govern the Kingdom by its Antient *Laws*. *William* the Second was deſerted by many of his Subjects, who took part with his Elder Brother, *Robert* Duke of *Normandy*, becauſe *Rufus* had violated the Laws. From the ſame Cauſe, when *Duke Robert* rais'd an Army againſt his other Brother, *Henry* the Firſt, the greateſt part of *Henry*'s Army Revolted to *Robert*, becauſe, as *Matthew Paris* ſays, *Henry* had already been a *Tyrant*. Another Commotion was rais'd againſt this *Prince*, and the Party headed by *Stephen*, *Archbiſhop of Canterbury*. *King John* was brought to Reaſon, by the *Reſiſtance* he found by the Great *Prelates*, *Nobility*, and *Gentry*, who ſlighted the *Pope*'s Bull for Aboliſhing their *Great Charter*; and valu'd neither the King's *Arms*, nor the Pope's *Excommunicating* of them all, when they ſtood in Competition with their *Antient*

tient Rights and Privileges. What Troubles and Danger did the *Barons* and *Biſhops* bring upon *Henry* the Third, for *Violating* their Privileges? His Reign gave Birth to the Complaint that fill'd the Subjects Mouths in the Reign of King *James*, viz. *That Judgment was committed to the Unjuſt; the Laws, to the Lawleſs; Peace, to Men of Diſcord; and Juſtice, to the Injurious:* So that not only the *Nobility, Gentry* and *Commonalty*, but the *Biſhops* of his *own* Church, Warr'd againſt him, threaten'd him with *Excommunication*; and that if he would not be reclaim'd from his *Illegal* and Arbitrary Proceedings, they would conferr with the other Eſtates of the Realm, and (as they had done in his Predeceſſor's Time) would chuſe a *New* King. And if, in ſo Antient Times, when *Popery* was on the Meridian of Glory, and Power, not only the *Laity*, but the *Prelates* of the Church, thought it Lawful to *Reſiſt* their Monarchs, who were breaking in upon their Liberties; why may not *Proteſtants* do the ſame, without Scandal to their Holy Religion, when they had *greater*

ter Reaſons, and *ſtronger* Provocations, than former Times could pretend to?

Their *Religion* was never in danger by any of thoſe Kings: But ours had receiv'd a deadly Wound by *James* the Second, and was almoſt *Expiring*, till we took ſhelter under a *Prince* who is not only able to Protect his *own* Subjects, but to *hinder* other Nations from being brought under the Yoke of Slavery.

The Reader (I hope) will eaſily perceive that theſe Inſtances are not urg'd to flatter the *Rage*, or gratifie the *Paſſions* of Seditious *Rebels*; but only to ſhew, that it has always been the *Genius* of the *Engliſh* Nation, under all *Forms* of Religion, to be very *Tender* of their *Privileges*; and gave greater Proofs of their Zeal for them in Times of *Popery*, than ever they have done ſince the *Proteſtant Religion* obtain'd amongſt us: Which may, at once, confute the *Jeſuits*, and convince the *World*, that we did not reſiſt the late King *James* becauſe he was a *Papiſt*, but becauſe he was a *Tyrant*; tho' it has been obſerv'd

obſerv'd in *England*, that *Popery* was the firſt Step to *Arbitrary Power*; and the nearer any of our *Kings* inclin'd to Popery, ſo much the more did our Privileges *decline*, till at laſt they were almoſt totally deſtroy'd by a *Prince* that openly profeſs'd it; and all our Crime is, that we would not be content to be Ruin'd by the late *King*, and his Popiſh Emmiſſaries; and rather choſe to deſire Protection, Liberty, and the Reſtitution of our Privileges, from His *Preſent Majeſty*, than abide in the Condition of the vileſt Slaves to the late King *James I.* A Crime, for which, I am very confident, no *Papiſt*, tho' he Rail at us with his *Tongue*, can condemn us in his *Conſcience*. And this brings us to the laſt Plea that our Opponents are pleas'd to enter againſt the Doctrine of *Reſiſtance*, and ſecuring our Obedience to the late King; *viz. That we are oblig'd by our Oaths, to Obey, and not Reſiſt him, upon any Pretence whatſoever.* To which I Anſwer:

How large an Extent ſoever ſome Men may give to the *Oaths* they took, in purſuance of an *Act* of Parliament

liament in the 13th of *Charles* the Second; yet they ought to remember what muſt always be ſuppos'd, as the Natural Condition of every Oath, *Rebus ſic ſtantibus*, Things continuing in the ſame State as they were in at the Time of *Taking* theſe Oaths; for otherwiſe, the Obligation *ceaſes* when Things are ſo *changed*, that they are *Unlawful*, or *impoſſible* to be obſerv'd. When we took theſe *Oaths* to the late *King*, we believ'd he would obſerve and *keep* his own *Oath* at his *Coronation*, and protect us in our *Religious* and *Civil* Rights; and therefore we ſwore to obey him: But when he *broke* his own Oath, and employ'd his Power to *Ruin us*, *and our Religion*, our Allegiance was at an *End*, and we had no Reaſon to obſerve thoſe *Oaths* that were taken when Things were in a *better* Poſture; and which we ſhould *never* have took, if we could have *fore-ſeen* what ſince has unfortunately *happen'd*; for tho' we were cheated by our *Credulity*, the Change of *Circumſtances* has cancell'd the *Obligation* of thoſe Oaths, and made it our Duty to do the contrary.

We

We are oblig'd to obey our Parents, while they maintain their *Characters*; but our Obedience *ceases*, when they command what is ſinful. *Nature* founded our Obedience to Authority, upon a *Suppoſition* that it was for the Good of the Community. Kings are the *Guarrantees* of this Formal Alliance, and from the Obligation of the *Original Compact* ariſes our Submiſſion: But if *Princes* extend their Authority beyond the *firſt* Deſign of its Inſtitution, and deſtroy the Society over which they preſide, our Obedience is at an *end*, and we may juſtly oppoſe them; for no *Oath*, or Promiſe of Obedience, can ſupercede our *Antecedent* Obligations to our *ſelves*, or our *Country*. Had King *James* kept his *own* Oath, we had been oblig'd to *ours*; but his changing from what he *promis'd* to be, ſet us at liberty. The Deceit was his own Contrivance, in diſguiſing himſelf; for had he appear'd in his *own* Likeneſs, and honeſtly told us what he deſign'd, before we were *decoy'd* into Oaths, I believe there would have been as many *Non-Jurants then*, as there were *Honeſt*

and

and *Thinking* Men in the Kingdom.

All Oaths, tho' never so cautiously worded, have still some *Tacit Exceptions*, or else they would sometimes *Interfere* with Common *Equity*. Therefore 'tis a good Exception in *Law*, and a *Salvo* in *Conscience*, to say, that the Thing, when the Oath was taken, was *Unforeseen*; and so unlikely to happen, that it was thought almost impossible to come to pass; *viz.* That the late King *James* should endeavour to Ruin his *Subjects*, which of necessity must have been his *own* Ruin also, when the Account should be adjusted between himself and *Partners*. Again,

As the late King manag'd his Affairs, these *Oaths*, and our Obedience were *Contradictory* to themselves, and therefore not Obliging. We swore in the Oath of *Supremacy*, that the King is *Supream Head and Governor in his Dominions; and that the Pope neither hath, nor ought to have any Superiority or Authority therein:* But the *late King*, notwithstanding this Law, would have the *Pope*

Supream

Supream in Spirituals! Could we make him what he *would* not be? Could he absolve us from those Oaths, after we had taken them? Or how was it possible for to *observe* them, but we must offend *one* Way, or *t'other*? The *Law* says, we must take these Oaths, or *pay Five Hunder'd Pounds*, besides other *Penal* Disabilities: The King says, we must not take them, upon pain of his Displeasure, and being turn'd out of the Offices we enjoy as our Freeholds by taking the Oaths; what must the Subject do, when the *Law* and the King are at so great *Variance*, and the Subjects *Duty* involv'd in such *Intricacies*, that could never be salv'd, but by the Monarch's Abdication? But

That which utterly puts an *End* to the Obligatory Part of these *Oaths*, and makes them *Null* and *Void*, was, his *Voluntary* Withdrawing himself from the *Kingdom*, Abdicating the Government, and Leaving the Throne *Vacant*; for that set his Subjects *Free*, to all *Intents* and *Purposes*; because he that leaves the Government of his Subjects, must

be

be ſuppos'd to *Reſign* his *Intereſt* in them; for Government is ſo *neceſſary* for the Preſervation of Subjects, that he who intends to have *Subjects*, muſt at the ſame time intend to have them *Govern'd*, or their whole *Allegiance* ceaſes. Nor if he could pretend he was *forc'd* to go off, will that avail him, becauſe it was of his *own* procuring: He might have prevented it by Calling a *Parliament*, and Complying with *Juſtice*; and the not doing what he ought, makes his Deſertion *Voluntary*. I mention this only to anſwer thoſe that object it without Cauſe; whoſe *Partiality* ſpoils their *Judgments*, and drives them to little *Shifts*, to ſupport their falſe Pretences.

His Departure into *France*, and Deſertion of the Crown, was wholly *Voluntary*; no *Force* compell'd him, no *Danger* threaten'd him, the People were willing to have Retain'd him; but he, according to *Hales*'s and *Brent*'s Advices, would leave the Kingdom in Confuſion, *that he might return the ſooner, and have his Ends of us*; which would bear very *Severe Reflections*; but his Going off being

being the only kind Act that ever that King did for England, I ſhall omit them now, out of pure *Gratitude* for that tranſcendent Favour.

What remains then, but a ſerious Advice to our *Scrupulous*, or *Obſtinate* Brethren, that they would no longer inſiſt upon *Controverted* Caſes, and *Ill-tim'd* Niceties, that hinder their *Obedience*, or *ſlacken* their *Gratitude* to *God*, and our *Sovereign Lord, King William*, for our *Miraculous Deliverance*; nor Ruin themſelves, nor expoſe the Nation to Danger for the ſake of the late *King*, when they neither ought, nor can do him any Service; for ſeeing, by the Law of *Nature*, the Deſign of *Government*, and the *Practice* of all Nations, the late King hath *Forfeited* and *Renounc'd* his *Right*, and they are diſcharg'd from their *Oaths* and *Allegiance* to him, that they would now honourably deliver up that Pretence which they can no longer defend, and pay their Obedience where Divine Providence, the Laws of the Land, and an Extraorninary Merit, has made it due.

What can be more dishonourable, than that the *Dishonour* and *Loss* that has befallen this Unfortunate *Prince*, was the Consequence of his own Arbitrary Actions, and is *primarily* to be imputed to himself; in exceeding the Bounds of his *Limited* Authority, which he ought in no wise to have done; for the Royal Dignity of *England* is so far from being a *Despotick* kind of Government, that it carries along with it, in its very *Essence*, a *Mixture* of *Interests* betwixt *King* and *People*; and lays an Obligation upon the *King*, to govern, not by his own Arbitrary *Will*, but according to *Law*. And so careful have the *English* Subjects *always* been to preserve the Government in this *Equal* Poize, that every *Deviation* from it, has been look'd upon by them, as a Step towards *Tyranny*. And not only the *English*, but so strangely has all Antiquity look'd upon the Affectation of *Absolute* Power, that *Isidore* lays it down as the Character of a *Tyrant*, *That he is Ambitious of Absolute Dominion, and oppresses his Subjects by a Lawless Authority*, And the Scholiast of *Aristophanes*

phanes says, That *a King differs from a Tyrant in this, that a King possesses his Kingdom, as receiving it from his Subject, upon certain Conditions prescribed by Law; but a Tyrant Enters and Rules by Force and Violence.* James the Second could not be ignorant that other Kings of *England* have sometimes shew'd their *Inclinations*, and made some *private* Lashes, and *subtile* Essays, towards an Unlimited Power; but being told of it, as an Incroachment upon the *Laws*, they have always *publickly* disclaim'd it; and yet the late *King* would attempt it!

Fortunæ miseras auximus arte vias. Propert. lib. 3. El. 6.

He with Misfortune, 'gainst himself, took part;
And his own Wickedness increas'd by Art.

King *Charles* the First, in his *Declaration* from * *Newmarket*, shew'd * 1694.
the Unlawfulness of it; for, says he, *The Laws are the Measures of my Power.* Few Words, but very significant; and agree with what was

ſaid by that great Lawyer, *Bracton*, *That he is no King that governs by his own Will, and not by Law; nor are his Commands obliging.* Which made King *James*, in one of his Speeches to the Parliament, call thoſe Flatterers that perſuade Kings not to confine themſelves within the Bounds of their own Laws, *Vipers, and the Peſts of King and Kingdom.* And the Lord *Verulam* ſays, the People have as good a Right to their *Laws*, as to the Air they breath in; and he that perſuades his Prince to break them, is as great a *Traytor* to him in the Court of *Heaven*, as the *Villain* that draws his Sword upon him in his own Palace.

Lewis the Eleventh of *France*, tho' he had been a very Arbitrary Prince, when he lay upon his *Death-Bed*, told his Son *Charles* the Eighth, that it was a Diminution to the Greatneſs of a King, not to govern by *Law*, and treat his Subjects *Humanely*; for no Man can be call'd a *King*, but he that governs *Free-men.*

King *James* the Firſt, in another Speech to his Parliament, ſums up all in this memorable Paſſage, *viz.*

That

That a King governing in a ſettl'd Kingdom, leaves to be a King, and degenerates into a Tyrant, when he ceaſes to rule according to Law. And yet all this could not reſtrain *James* the Second from endeavouring after an Abſolute Power.

The *Sentiments* of theſe Great Men might be very prevalent upon Ingenuous Princes; yet our *Anceſtors*, unwilling to *expoſe* themſelves and us to Contingent Hazards, or leave it to the *Mercy*, or truſt only to the *Good Nature* of Princes, who being but Men, might be ſway'd by their own Paſſions, abus'd by their *Credulity*, or miſ-guided by Evil Counſellors, to act againſt their own, and their Kingdom's Safety, they thought fit to bind up their *Kings* from Invading their Laws, or venturing upon an Unlimited Power, by the *moſt Sacred Obligation in the World*; *viz.* a Solemn *Oath*, and *Promiſe*, at their *Coronations*, to govern according to the Laws of the Land: And Taking this Oath has always been the conſtant Practice of our *Saxon*, *Daniſh* and *Norman Kings*, even to *James* the Second, who made no

Scruple in Taking, nor no Conſcience in Breaking it. To this, I might add, that our Kings are Circumſcrib'd by *Law*, becauſe, in many Inſtances, the Law hath determined what they *can*, and what they *cannot* do lawfully; But becauſe this Point has been *Invidiouſly* and *Indecently* handl'd, by ſome Perulant and froward Pempers, who have ſet too narrow Bounds to the Royal Prerogative, I ſhall wave it, and conclude this Paragraph with that excellent Saying of King *James* the Firſt, to both Houſes of Parliament: Where-
* See his Works. in he expreſly tells them, * *That a King of* England *binds himſelf by a double Oath, to the Obſervation of the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom: Tacitly, as being a King; and ſo bound to protect his People, and the Laws of the Kingdom: And Expreſly, by his Oath at his Coronation. So that every King in a ſettl'd Kingdom, is bound to obſerve that* Paction *made to his People, by his Laws, in framing his Government agreeably thereunto; according to the Paction that God made with* Noah, *after the Deluge.*

To

To Recite more upon this Head, was, to pour Water into the Sea; for that King that does not think himself oblig'd by his *Oath* to govern according to Law, no other Legal Mound can hold him from breaking down the *Fences* of the *Kingdom*, and laying all *Waste* before him: Which, tho' others might aim at by a *Side*-Wind, no King of *England* ever claim'd a Right to it, but the late *King James*; and it was a piece of Haughtiness, and Extravagance, above all Example, except what his own following Practices has furnish'd us with. And having thus proved, that *the late King* James *was, by his Oath, oblig'd to Govern by Law*, I proceed to shew you, that instead of Answering this great End,

He made it the whole *Business* of his Reign, to act directly against the *Laws*, to subvert the whole Constitution, and expose the Nation to certain *Ruin* and *Destruction*. And, *Secondly*, That by so doing, he renounc'd to be our *King*; and justify'd the *Legality* of the Estates proceedings against him.

That he intended no *Good* to *England*, might plainly be discern'd, by the great Number of *Jesuits* and *Popish Priests*, that from all Parts, *flock'd* about him, and were *Caress'd* and *Indear'd* by him, at his very first Accession to the Crown; for if Charity could have oblig'd us to believe him never so *Good-natur'd*, it was Morally *Impossible* for him to continue *Good*, in such *Ill* Company; who, where-e'er they come, set the Country in a Flame that receives them. 'Twas, I say, a Sign that some very *Ill* Thing was to be *done*, when such Sanguinary Hands were to be employ'd, as were Reeking hot in the *Blood* of *Neighbouring* Protestants; and against whose *Cruelties*, *Self-Interest*, *Love of Glory*, *Greatness of Mind*, nor *Goodness of Nature*, could never divert those Princes from Persecuting, and *Rooting out* their Protestant Subjects, that had once imbibed the pernicious Principles of the *Jesuits*, who, like their Father, the *Devil*, *are always wandring about*, *seeking whom they may devour*.

In what a happy Estate was the *German Empire*, till the *Jesuits* prevail d

vail'd with the *Emperor* to eſpouſe their Intereſt; and, rather than let a *few Proteſtants* live peaceably in *Hungary*, involv'd the *Empire* in a *War* that has laſted Thirty Years already, and God only knows when there will be an End of it?

What *Scandalous* Breaches of Promiſes, and *Havock*, has been among the *Hugonots*, in *France*, by Mercileſs Cruelties, Murthers, Thefts, *Rapine*, and all kind of *Devaſtations*, ſince the *Jeſuits* have been permitted to *influence* the Affairs of that Kingdom? To give no more Preſidents of their Barbarities to *Proteſtants*; and bewitching, with their *Poyſonous* Tenents, the *Counſels* of Unwary or Bigotted Princes.

How have they perſuaded the *Duke of Savoy*, contrary to all Politicks, to *Perſecute* and *Baniſh* his Proteſtant Subjects, who, in all probability, would have given him the *beſt* Aſſiſtance, when he ſhall want their *Service*, for the Preſervation of his *Dukedom*? And how far the late King *James* would have follow'd thoſe *Preſidents*, while theſe *Incendiaries* were the *Directors* of his *Conſcience*,

ſcience, may be eaſily underſtood by the firſt Steps he made towards the Ruin of the Proteſtant Intereſt. First, In Setting up a *Diſpencing Power*, and Aſſuming an *Arbitrary* Authority, that ſhould know no Bounds, but what his own *Will* ſhould preſcribe to it. By virtue of this Unlimited Power, he brought a *Jeſuit* into the *Privy-Council*, made a Profeſs'd *Papiſt* Secretary of *State*, conſtituted two *Popiſh Judges*, and fill'd up many of the moſt *Important Offices*, and Places of *Truſt*, and *Profit*, in the Kingdom, with *Papiſts*; ſuch as *Sheriffs*, *Juſtices* of the Peace, *Mayors* of Cities and Corporations, and *Officers* in his Army. And that he might be able to gain his *Point*, and *force* thoſe that refus'd to comply voluntarily, he put the *Tower of London*, the great *Magazin* of *England*, and Keeper of the *Regalia*, into the Hands of Sir *Edward Hales*, as *Rank* and *Sowr* a *Papiſt*, as ever our Soil produc'd; and fill'd all the Vacant Places of his *Army* with *Popiſh Officers*. By the ſame Authority he granted an *Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion*, gave Four *Popiſh Biſhops* Power

Power to visit several Districts in *England*, plac'd a Society of *Jesuits* in the *Savoy*, and erected *Popish Schools* and *Mass-Houses* in most of our Cities and Corporations: And *Lastly*, To annoy his *Subjects*, and force his Way through *all* Difficulties, in Times of *Peace*, kept a *Standing Army*.

'Tis needless to tell the Reader, that these Proceedings were contrary to the *Laws* of the Land, and wholly *Inconsistent* with them; for there are very few, or none, but know it already, in general Terms. I shall therefore apply my self to shew you *how* it was against Law, and what would have been the Consequences of this Unlimited Power, if the late *King* had continu'd longer amongst us. And this brings me to shew you his particular Actions.

To feel the Pulse of *England*, and try how they Resented his Proceedings, the late King commonly began the Exercise of his *Arbitrary* Power in *Scotland*; and from the Measures that were taken there, we might take a Prospect of his *Tyranny*, and our own Calamities; for tho'

he

he ſhew'd us his Deſigns under the *Soft* Title of *Diſpencing*, in *Scotland* he threw off that *Vizor*, and explained himſelf, in calling it * *Annulling* and *Diſabling* Laws. And to ſhew all the World his *Arbitrary Ends*, he gave ſuch a Specimen of his Single, *Unlimited* Power there, that he attempted to do more in that Kingdom, (which, as well as ours, is a Limited Monarchy,) than the United Power of *King*, *Lords* and *Commons*, together, were able to do; and that was, by impoſing an *Oath* on that People, contrary to Law, in theſe Words:

Vide *Scotch Declaration.*

You ſhall ſwear, to the utmoſt of your Power to Defend, Aſſiſt, and Maintain, the King, and his Succeſſors, in the Exerciſe of their Abſolute Power.

And this, I take Leave to ſay, the *King and Parliament* could not impoſe upon the Subject; becauſe it was, in it ſelf, a *Subverſion* of the *Conſtitution*, as being an Obligation to ſupport a *Power* deſtructive to the whole Frame of the Government. This *Caprichio* of the late King *James* was

was the Maſter-piece of all his *Jeſuited* Counſels, and the Finiſhing Stroke of an Eternal Vaſſalage; for this Oath was created by his Arbitrary Power, and his Arbitrary Power was to be ſupported by this Oath; and both muſt grow together, and run in an Endleſs Circle, to the utter *Extinction* of all the *Remains* of our Natural *Liberty*, or Legal *Government*. And what was done in *Scotland*, we have Reaſon to believe, in its Courſe, muſt have been exercis'd in *England* alſo; the late *King* having no more, or other Authority in one Kingdom, than he has in the other; and both then govern'd by the ſame *Arbitrary* Maxims, and *Popiſh* Miniſters.

In *England* the late King aſſuming a *Diſpenſing power*, Uſurp'd the whole *Legiſlative Authority* into his own Hands, for to *Diſpenſe* with Laws is as great a power as to make them; and by the exerciſe of it, inveſted himſelf with a power as great, if not greater, than that of *King and Parliament* together, who can joyntly, but not ſeverally, give any Reſolve the Authority of a Law.

The

The pretences to justifie this Action was, that he might have the assistance of all his Subjects, and that the Papists having been equally Loyal to his Progenitors, they might not be discourag'd by *legal* Discriminations. This was but a slight pretence, tho' part of the Intrigue; for his dispencing power was chiefly directed to another and more considerable purpose.

From the latter end of King *Charles*'s Reign, the Press was loaden with *Pamphlets*, and City and Country fill'd with invectives against *Parliaments*, as unnecessary *Wenns* in the Government that were fit to be cut off, that the Royal Authority might be without any Legal, or Pecuniary Restraint, or Limitation. Now the *Dispencing Power* would do this Work effectually; for it put the whole *Legislative* Authority into the *King*'s Hands, and made Parliaments *Useless*, and signifie *Nothing!* For *this End* was it set up: And the Employing *Papists*, that were *Unqualify'd* by Law, was for no other End, but to support the *Dispencing* Power, till it had accomplish'd what was intended by it.

Pro-

Protestants could not be suppos'd to engage in this Design, for the Law was made in *their* Favour, and was their *Security* against *Romish Persecutions*, and *Depredations*; and therefore the *late King* would bring *Papists* into the Government, to whom the Laws were *Enemies*, that, in requital, they might be *Enemies* to to the Laws, and stick at *nothing*, to support their *King's Power* that made them what they were, and would only *continue* them in their Advantageous *Stations*. So that if that King should gain his Point, there seem'd a kind of Mutual *Necessity* for the late King to Introduce *Papists*, and for *Papists* to execute his *Orders*, or the Power, and the Officers, would sink into their Original Nothing: *But the Snare is broken, and we are Deliver'd.*

Strong Desires are the Common Temptations to the Use of *Ill Means*; and never did any Man grasp at the *Power* to do Mischief, without the Purpose. If ever there have been such mysterious Riddles of Irregular Vertue, yet *James* the Second never gave any Instances of it; for it plainly

ly appear'd in him, how effectually the *Temptation* of Unlimited Power work'd in his *Ambitious* Humour. He never thought any thing *Enough*, till he had ingroſs'd a Power to Ruin *All*, and turn *Old England* into a Wilderneſs of *New* Confuſions. By this Diſpencing Power, he at once ſuſpended above *Forty* Statutes relalating to our *Religion*; and the next Week, by the ſame *Arbitrary Power*, might have ſuſpended *Forty* more, that ſecur'd our *Civil Properties* likewiſe; for he had no more *Right* to do the one, than the other; and ſo might have gone on to the End of the Chapter, till he had *Abrogated* all the Laws in the Statute-Book; and acted here, as afterwards, Doctor *King* tells us, he did in *Ireland*;

State of *Ireland*, p. 92.

* Seize Men's *Goods*, for his own Uſe, by a File of *Muſqueteers*, or, at beſt, by his own *Warrant*, without any kind of *Legal* Proceſs; and to which he had no other *Claim*, but that he wanted them. Now if this be not *Tyranny*, nothing in the World can merit that Appellation; and therefore, ſince I have been often forc'd to give his Government that Title,

Title, that I may not ſeem to beg the Queſtion, or *ſlander* the Reign of that Unfortunate *Prince*, give me leave to ſhew you here, that it was a Tyranny through the whole Courſe of his unhappy Reign; and that the Power he aſſum'd, and the Maxims he acted by, had all the Marks of *Tyranny*.

Firſt, It was a *True* Tyranny; for the Violence he offer'd his Subjects, was not the Effect of Inadvertency, Ignorance, Weakneſs, or Paſſion, which may ſometimes attend the beſt of Princes; but it was the *deliberate* Act and Execution of many *premeditated* Reſolutions; and grounded upon a Belief that he had a *Right to do whatever he thought fit to his Subjects*. To do an ill Action may be ſometimes the *Misfortune*, not always the *Fault* of a Prince; But when that Action is juſtify'd by a *Right* to do it, tho' the Laws utterly forbid it, it is an Act of *True* and *Abſolute* Tyranny, and can neither be defended, or palliated. *David* was not a *Tyrant* in the Affair of *Uriah*; for he committed the Crime *like* a Criminal, he was *aſham'd* of

the Action, and did all he could to ſmother it, and never attempted to change his particular *Paſſion* into a publick *Law*, or Example. *He who kills one, or a few*, ſays * *Seneca, is not a* Tyrant *againſt the Commonwealth, but a Murtherer*: For Tyranny conſiſts in doing Wrong to all, grounded upon a *Principle* that he may do it *Lawfully*. So *Ahab's* Action in taking away *Naboth's* Vineyard, was a heinous Crime, but not properly an Act of Tyranny, becauſe he did it by Colluſion, and under Colour of purchaſing it, without any Pretence of *Right* to do it. But all the late *King James's* Actions had another Face; he juſtify'd his doing private and particular Injuries, by aſſuming a Right to do ſo by *All*. He intail'd *Miſery* and *Deſtruction* upon the Kingdom, by ſuſpending and aboliſhing all *Laws* that were made for its Security, and ſetting up his own *Will* inſtead of them. He was not content to impriſon ſome *Biſhops*, or to affront ſome great *Lords*, or deprive ſome *particular* Perſons of their Rights; but he ſtruck a Blow at the *Root*,

* *Sen. Ep.* 17. Qui unum, qui plures occidit, non tamen Reipublicæ læſæ; ſed cædis eſt.

Root, and by the Exercise of his *Dispencing* Power, and giving Authority to *Papists*, whose Consciences laid them under a Necessity of destroying *Hereticks*, he was Ruining *All*: For, to suspend the *Penal* Laws against *Papists*, was, in plain English, but to give them Power, in time, to execute the Bloody Decrees of the *Romish* Church, upon *English* Protestants. *Secondly*,

2. The late King *James*'s *Tyranny* was not only a *True*, but it was also a *Notorious* and *Evident Tyranny*: No Artifice, Pretence, or Colour, could hide it from the Eyes of all Men; it was to be Read in *All* his Actions, past, and present: What he had in Speculation when he was Duke, he practis'd when he was King. The Maxims of the *greatest* * Tyrants he still laid Claim to, and observ'd no Rule, or Law, but his own Will: *Am not I your King, and ought to be obey'd without Reserve?* was the Language of his *Proclamations*, as well as his private Closetings. He threaten'd all that would not comply with his *Absolute* Power, that they should feel the Effects of

* Quod Principi placuit Lex esto.

his *Diſpleaſure*; and by diſcarding ſome of the moſt *Intelligent* and *Experienc'd* Men in the Kingdom, to to uſher in *Raw* and *Head-ſtrong* Papiſts, proclaim'd to all the World, he aim'd at *ſomething* that was *Illegal*, and could not be compaſs'd, but by Agents of his *own* Creation, that would venture at *All*, to pleaſe their Maſter. And that the Knowledge of what he deſign'd might not be confin'd within his own *Territories*, he ſent an Ambaſſador to the *Pope*, directly againſt the known *Laws* of the Kingdom; and receiv'd a Nuncio from thence with as much publick State and Pomp, as if he deſign'd to let all the World ſee how far his Vanity, and Affectation of Arbitrary Power, and Affronting the Laws, would carry him; tho' in that he had no better Succeſs, than in the reſt of his Negotiations; for the *Pope* knew him too far in *League* with the *F*---- K---, to think him a Friend of his, and treated his Ambaſſador accordingly.

3. It was an *Univerſal Tyranny*: Nothing was exempted from his *Lawleſs* Will; for by his falſe Perſuaſion

ſuaſion in Religion, that we, as *Hereticks*, were fallen from our *Rights*, and had no juſt Claim to any thing we poſſeſs'd; our *Conſciences*, our *Lives*, and our *Eſtates*, were all at his Diſpoſal; and tho' he might, by ſtraining the Point, ſhew us a little Favour, and let us enjoy them a while; yet he could do us no Wrong in taking them away at his pleaſure. Agreeably to this Perſuaſion he adapted all his Actions, and no Order, Degree, or Condition of Men in the Kingdom, but in ſome Inſtance, or other, felt the Smart of them.

The *Nobility* and *Gentry*, by the Inquiſition that was made after *Popiſh Lands*, and the Promiſe of *Reſtoring* them to the Church, ſaw themſelves in danger of being *Robb'd* of their Eſtates, or holding them precariouſly at the Pleaſure of *Monks* or *Friars*: And ſome that were *then* forc'd to ſell their Eſtates, were great Loſers, and could ſcarce find Chap-men (as Things then ſtood) that car'd to buy them.

Some of the Reverend *Biſhops* were Impriſon'd, for declaring they

had *Consciences*; others Cited before the *Ecclesiastical Commissioners*, for not admitting *Popish Priests* into Benefices; and all *frown'd* on that durst take the Liberty to Preach against the *King's Religion*. They saw their Power declining, by the Authority that was given to *four Popish Bishops* to hold Visitations in their Dioceses; and the whole Body of the Protestant Clergy were on the Brink of *Ruin*, for not Reading his *Illegal* Declaration.

Both the *Universities* felt the Effects of his *Unlimited* Power, in the Dissolution of *Magdalen-College* in *Oxford*, and the *Suspension* and taking away the Perquisites of the *Vice-Chancellor* of *Cambridge*.

The *Parliament*, to whom he had *many* Obligations, were Dissolv'd, for refusing to *Repeal* a Law made against *Papists*.

The *Judges* that had so much *Law* and Honesty, as to declare their Opinions against his *Dispencing* Power, were laid aside, and others thrust into their Places that would serve his Arbitrary Purposes.

Pro-

Proteſtant Officers in the Army were, to their great Loſs, Caſhier'd, to make way for *Papiſts*; and ſome of them threaten'd with *Death*, for * refuſing to admit *Iriſh Papiſts* into their *Engliſh Proteſtant* Companies, that had the Guard of no leſs important place than *Portſmouth*.

* *Lieut. Col.* Beaumont, Tho. Paſton, Simon Park, Tho. Orm, Will. Cook, *and* John Port, *all Officers, were Commanders.*

Merchants were forc'd to pay Cuſtom, where no Law enjoin'd it. *Inn-keepers*, *Victuallers*, and other *Trades-men*, were impoveriſh'd by *Free* Quarter; and the *Pooreſt People* in the Kingdom were Oppreſs'd by the *Illegal* Exaction of *Hearth-Money*. *Fourthly*,

4. The late King *James*'s Reign was a *Neceſſary Tyranny*; and ſo much the more neceſſary to *puſh* him forward to accompliſh his Deſigns, that this *Neceſſity* was impos'd upon his *Conſcience* by the *Laws* of his *Church*, under the Expectation of *Rewards*, or Dread of the *Puniſhments*, that would attend his Obedience, or Diſobedience, to their *Decrees*. All the *Popiſh* Wri-

ters agree, that * every Prince ought to *Exterminate* his *Proteſtant* Subjects; that the Omiſſion of that Duty, is *Damnable*; and that putting them to *Death*, when they have nothing elſe to loſe, is a Juſt, *Meritorious* Action. And we have Reaſon to believe, if *Heaven* was to be *purchas'd*, God *pleas'd*, the Papiſts *gratify'd*, and his own Ambition and Prejudice *humour'd*, in doing it, the late *King* would not leave theſe Bleſſings behind him. Now, where the People claim a *Right* to their *Privileges*, as well as the Prince to his *Prerogative*, the Prince will certainly begin his Reign with the Deſtruction of thoſe that have a *Right* to oppoſe his *Abſolute* Authority. And theſe Maxims, of a Right to do it in Conſcience, were the Inducements to King *James*'s Tyranny; which we might expect to ſee *Increas'd*, but never *Relax'd*; for tho' he might change his *Councils*, he could not change his *Conſcience*; nor whilſt he had ſuch Directors of it as the *Jeſuits* are, can it be ſuppos'd other-

* Beccan. Theol. Scot. p. 1. c. 13. quæſt. 5. Tho. Aquin. Summæ quæſt. 10 art. 3. Durand. Sancta Portian. quæſt. utrum Hæret. ſint tolerand. quæſt. 5. Bellarmin. de hæres. l. 3. c. 21. Concilio Tolet. p. 46. Concil. Later. 4.

otherwiſe, but that he would follow the Leſſons they taught, and he imbib'd, as conducing to his Eternal Happineſs? *Fifthly*,

5. It was a *Conſummated Tyranny*; nothing remain'd *Entirely* Free; but all was ſubjected to the good Pleaſure of his own *Will*. His *Arbitrary* Power influenc'd all in Authority: His *Privy Council*, generally ſpeaking, were made up of ſuch as would concurr with his *Unlimited* Authority, and were oblig'd by their *Intereſt* to aſſiſt the Project, and *Subvert* all that oppos'd it. The *Judges* gave it for Law, that he had a *Diſpencing* Power, and ought not to be *Reſiſted* in the Exerciſe of it. The Magiſtracy was infected with the ſame Malady; and the Soldiery were oblig'd to defend it with Sword in Hand.

6. It was, as intended, an *Eternal Tyranny*; for, beſides that his Abrogating the Laws gave an Example to his Succeſſors to trace his Methods, and in time make themſelves as *Deſpotick Princes* as the *Czar* of *Moſcovy*, or the *Turkiſh Emperor*; he was introducing a *Suppoſitious Heir*, that ſhould be train'd

up

up in the same *Principles*, and invested in the same *Power*; and so keep out a *Protestant* Successor, whose *Religion* would better instruct him in his Duty, in maintaining his own Prerogative, and yet indulging his Subjects in such a *Liberty* as does no way Impair or Attaint their Allegiance: Whereas a *Popish Successor* would have made *Tyranny* as perpetual as 'tis Absolute.

7. To conclude, The Tyranny of the late King's Reign was an *Incurable Tyranny*. If it had arose from the *Heat* of *Youth*, Time might have quench'd that *Fire*, in correcting the *Cause*. If it had proceeded from any Corporeal *Disease*, a Remedy might have been found to cure it. If it had been the Effect of an Incurable *Disorder* in his *Intellects* or *Temperature*, we might have flatter'd our selves that it would last but one Reign; or that Defect might have been supply'd by a Regent. But none of these can be objected against the late King *James*, for he *Nurs'd* it many Years in his own *Bosom*; it grew up with his *Understanding*, and was a true Tyranny in its Design;

necessary,

neceſſary, as impos'd on him by his Conſcience; evident in all his Actions; Univerſal in its Object, and Extent; Conſummated in its Degrees; Eternal in its Conſequence; and altogether incurable by reaſon of his Age, and introducing a *Popiſh* Heir; without the Application of ſuch a *Speedy* and *Effectual* Remedy as *God* was pleas'd to ſend us in our Extremity.

Some of the late King *James*'s Friends are pleas'd to extenuate the Crimes they cannot defend, in charging all the *Faults* of his Reign upon his *Miniſters*; which, if allow'd to be *True*, might leſſen them in part, but not diſcharge him of the whole: For if the *Maſter's* Actions be never ſo Innocent, or Inoffenſive; yet, if out of Cowardice, or Affection, he becomes the *Patron* of his *Servants* Inſolencies and Outrages, by *Protecting*, or not *Puniſhing* their Miſdemeanours, he renders himſelf Guilty, and will ſhare in the Contempt and Hatred of his People. But when we conſider how he labour'd the Point himſelf, by *Cloſetting, Perſuading and Threatning many Great Men*,

Men, and others, to engage with him in his Deſign of Setting up *Popery*, and *Diſpencing* with Laws, and whoſe Image and Superſcription it bears, the Glory of the Enterprize will be all his own; for I can never think his *Miniſters* capable of all thoſe *Extravagancies* themſelves, any further than that they knew it would pleaſe him. Indeed, I can very eaſily ſuppoſe them chiefly Devoted to their *Own* Intereſts, and willing to *Share* in the Spoil of Ruin'd Subjects; yet methinks there ſhould be ſome *kind* Remembrance of their *Native* Country, that would ſometimes check the Diſſoluteneſs of ſuch *Arbitrary* Managements: And a certain *Pride* that Men take in acting *prudently*, and not expoſing themſelves to the *Hatred* and *Deriſion* of all Mankind, ſhould have ſtopp'd their Carier in ſuch *Illegal* Proceedings. And ſo it appear'd; for at laſt, under theſe Apprehenſions, we find many that deſerted the late King, after he thought himſelf ſure of them; and reſign'd their Places, and refus'd to act by his *Commiſſion*, or obey his *Orders*, after their Names were Inſerted

ſerted in Commiſſions, and their Perſons *Actually* Engag'd in his Service. So that 'tis plain, this *Project* was the Iſſue of his own Brain, heated by the *Jeſuitical Dictators of his Conſcience*: The Fountain was corrupted, and then no wonder the Streams run foul.

Something might be ſaid in favour of the late *King*, if he had ſet up his *Diſpencing* Power for a General Good; but 'tis evidemt that it was only intended to enable *Papiſts* to ruin *Proteſtants*; and therefore the *Iriſh Parliament*, in their Act of *Attainder*, put it out of their *King*'s Power to exerciſe his *Prerogative* in ſhewing Kindneſs to *Proteſtants* that wanted it: For when * Sir *Thomas Southwell* was (contrary to the Articles on which he Surrender'd himſelf) condemn'd for *High Treaſon* againſt *King James*; and at the Requeſt of the Lord *Seaford*, that King was willing to *Pardon* him, and ſent his *Warrant* to the *Attorney-General*, Sir *Richard Neagle*, to draw a *Fiat*; the *Attorney-General* poſitively told the *King*, he could not *Pardon* him; and tho' the late *King* ſeem'd to be

* See *The State of the Proteſtants in* Ireland, *by Biſhop* King, p. 179.

in

in a *Heat*, and told Sir *Richard*, he had betray'd him, yet it muſt be preſum'd they *Underſtood* one another, for ſo the Matter ended; and Sir *Thomas* went into *Scotland*, with the Lord *Seaford*, without being able to obtain a Pardon for his *Life*, or *Eſtate*.

From this, and other Inſtances that might be given, we may ſee their *Popiſh Juggling*; for when an *Act of Parliament* is made againſt a *Papiſt*, 'twas no leſs than *Treaſon* to queſtion the King's *Pardoning* and *Diſpencing Power*; but when an *Act* bears hard on a *Proteſtant*, and their *King* (as he pretends) has a Mind to *Eaſe* them, then the *King* has no *Power* to *Diſpence*, he *cannot* grant a *Pardon*, his Hands are bound up by *Law*. So that the End of Setting up this *Diſpencing Power*, was only to ſhelter *Papiſts* from the Law, and ruin *Proteſtants*; for the *Papiſts*, in their Hearts, we ſee, are as much againſt it, as the *Proteſtants*. To go on:

The late King declar'd in Council, that he would publiſh ſuch a *Proclamation* in *England*, as he had done

done in *Scotland*; and that none ſhould have Employments under him, that would not co-operate in taking off the Penal Laws: And he began to execute theſe Reſolutions with a Conduct full of *Violence*, and *Injuſtice*.

The *Lord Biſhop* of *London* was put out of the *Privy Council*, and Suſpended from his *Epiſcopal* Office, becauſe he would not Suſpend Doctor *Sharp*, now Archbiſhop of *York*, without Legal Proceſs. The *Earl* of *Rocheſter* was depriv'd of his Office of *Lord Treaſurer*, becauſe he would not *change* his Religion. And the *Duke* of *Sommerſet* loſt his Office, becauſe he would not *violate* the Laws of the Kingdom, in performing the *Honours* at the Reception of the *Pope's Nuncio*, as is uſual at the Introduction of Ambaſſadors.

To ſay, in Excuſe of this, that *James* the Second turn'd out Great Officers of *State*, becauſe they would not obey him, and concurr with his Intenſions, is to publiſh a *Truth* that ought to have been *Conceal'd* by his own Party; becauſe it was an evident Demonſtration, that his Intentions

tions were *Unjuſt*, and level'd againſt our *Laws*, and *Religion*. In Things *Lawful*, tho' not *Expedient*, he found a *Tacit* Compliance; nay, ſome of them, to keep him in *Temper*, perhaps comply'd further with him than the Strictneſs of the Law would juſtifie; (as Men pull down ſome Houſes at a *Fire*, to preſerve the whole Town from Burning:) But, to comply in all things, had been to forfeit their own *Honours*, to juſtifie his Illegalities, and *Tyranny*.

2. The Second Means that the late King *James* employ'd, for the Deſtruction of the Religion and Liberties of *England*, was, granting an *Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion*, directly contrary to Law. This declar'd by what Methods he intended to govern; for every Step he made, was a *new Project* to aſſert his *Arbitrary* Power; and acquaint his Subjects, that he would make all Laws *Uſeleſs*, that all Power ſhould reſt in his *own* Hands, and the Adminiſtration be Iſſu'd from no other Source but his own Will and Pleaſure; for there was no Occaſion for ſuch a Commiſſion, but only to ſhew what he

would

would be at, and declare his Purpoſe to ruin the *Church* of *England*. Therefore the *Commiſſioners* were *Devoto's* of the *Court*; for the *Archbiſhop*'s Name was put in, but to *grace* the Matter: They knew before that he would not Act; and therefore, to colour the *Sham*, they oblig'd him to ask Leave to be abſent.

To make this *Commiſſion* more Illegal, a *Papiſt* is appointed one of the *Commiſſioners*; and the whole cloathed with as *Abſolute* a Power, as the late King himſelf was aſpiring after! They had not only Power to *Repreſs* and *Puniſh* all Abuſes puniſhable by the *Eccleſiaſtical* Laws; and to proceed againſt Offenders, by *Interdiction*, *Suſpention*, *Excommunication*, *Perpetual Impriſonment*, &c. but they had alſo Power *to Exerciſe their Authority in all Parts of* England, *to Viſit Cathedral-Churches, the Univerſities, Colleges, Pariſhes, Schools and Hoſpitals; to Judge in all Cauſes, and make new Laws, Rules, Orders, and Statutes, and Aboliſh the Old ones, as the preſent Neceſſity requir'd; notwithſtanding any Privilege, Statute, Exemption, or Prerogative to the contrary.*

Which was ſuch a boundleſs Stretch of Power, as never had, nor, I hope, never will have any other Preſident than it ſelf. *Thirdly*, He purſu'd his Arbitrary Methods by

3. Setting up *Popery*, in Oppoſition to the *National Religion*, to *Ruin* his Proteſtant Subjects, and force the whole Kingdom under Subjection to the *Papal Laws*, which had already *ſentenc'd* them to Deſtruction; and that nothing leſs could be the Deſign of this Unhappy *Monarch*, will evidently appear, if we conſider how *Popery* repreſents us to the World, and how *Papiſts* think themſelves oblig'd to treat us under thoſe Characters.

The modeſteſt Terms the *Popiſh Writers* can afford the *Engliſh Proteſtants*, is, That they are a Pack of *Sacrilegious Uſurpers* of their Church's Patrimony, and a Neſt of *Obſtinate Hereticks* that ought to be *Sacrific'd* to their Revenge, and *Rooted* out of the World by any Means whatſoever; and this, ſay they, is always to be attempted by every *good Prince*, according to *Bellarmine*'s Salvo, *Ne ſint fortiores nobis*; *Unleſs they be too ſtrong*

ſtrong to be ſubdu'd. For, otherwiſe, even *Maſſacres* are never condemned but when they are unſucceſsful. And how then they would have us'd us, if they could have eſtabliſhed their Miſchiefs by *Laws as Bloody as their Minds*, let the *Marian* Perſecution acquaintus: And why ſhould we tempt them again, whoſe Religion is Cruelty, and ſmells ſo much of Fire, that the very Smoak makes us tremble.

The *Laws* of *England* always intend the *Preſervation* of the Subject? but *Popery*, when Triumphant, in reſpect of *Proteſtants*, is deſtructive, to all Laws; contrary to the Law of *Society*, to the Law of *Government*, to the Law of *Empire*, to the Law of *Royalty*, and eſpecially to the Laws of *a Mix'd Monarchy*, ſuch as *England*'s are; and *Proteſtants* can never be ſafe where 'tis Regnant. *Firſt*,

1. *Popery* is againſt *the Laws of Society* in all *Proteſtant* Countries, as well as in *England*; for, according to the *Romiſh* Tradition, the *Reform'd* are all *Hereticks*; and, as ſuch, are *Ipſo Facto* depriv'd of the *Right* they had to their *Goods*, their *Children*,

their *Liberty*, their *Privileges*, and even of their *Country*; and ought to be regarded only as *Robbers*, *Thieves*, *Murtherers*, *Rebels* and *Traytors*, condemn'd to *Death* by the Church, and ought to be deliver'd to the *Secular* Power to be *Executed*. And to compleat the Tragedy, *that Holy Church* appoints prodigious *Recompences* to Princes that Exterminate them, and *Anathematize* thoſe that refuſe it. Now, whilſt a *Popiſh Prince* lies under the Perſuaſion that his *Proteſtant* Subjects are ſuch as his *Church* repreſents them that they are not a *People*, nor have *Right* to any thing they poſſeſs, he lies under ſo great a Temptation to deſtroy them, that they had no Reaſon in the World to truſt him with their Lives, or ſuffer him to ſet up a *Power* that will inevitably deſtroy them. *Secondly*,

* Becan. Theol. Scol. p. 1. cap. 15. quæſt. 6.

2. It is not leſs Incompatible with *the Law of Government*; for that is deſign'd to *Protect* and *Defend*: And how can that End agree with that of *Popery*, which is to *Exterminate Hereticks*? By the Law of *Government*, we are Objects of *Protection*; by the Law

Law of *Popery*, we are Subjects of *Deſtruction*. The Prince receives from *God*, and the *Society*, a Power to protect his People; but he receives from the *Church* his *Mother*, an Order to deſtroy them, as Condemn'd Hereticks: And which of theſe two Orders think you ſhall prevail with a Popiſh King above the other? Why, thot in which he is moſt *Concern'd*, and to which *Eternal* Recompences are inſeparably annex'd: And then, in what a ſad Condition were the Proteſtants of *England*, in the Reign of the late King. *Thirdly*, Againſt

3. *The Law of Royalty*, to which *Popery* in the Caſe ſuppos'd has an abſolute Antipathy; as will appear, if you conſider that all *Royalty* neceſſarily contains three Things, *viz.* the *Conſent* of the People, engaging to *obey*; the *Conſent* of the *King*, promiſing to *protect*; and the *Manner* by which the King and People confirm their Promiſes, which is a *Religious Oath*. Now, a *Popiſh* Prince, that governs a *Proteſtant* People will be always wanting on his part of the Contract, if he takes the Maxims of

his own *Religion* for the *Rule* of his Government.

'Tis a *Contradiction* to believe he will act againſt his own *Inclination*, or that he will cancel the *Antecedent* Obligation which he was under to the Church his Mother, in *preſerving Hereticks*, that are not a People, but a looſe ſort of Animals, doom'd to Deſtruction! Does the Prince break his *Faith* in not performing the *Oath* he took when Inveſted with his *Kingly* Authority and promis'd to *protect* his People? No, ſay the *Directors* of his *Conſcience*! The *Oath* was againſt the Laws of *Holy Church*; therefore ſinful, and void. Beſides (ſay they) the Prince *took* the Oath with *Intention* to break it, and the Intention muſt always govern the Action, eſpecially when it falls under the Church's General Rule of *not keeping Faith with Hereticks.*

4. To diſmiſs this Argument; *Popery* is particularly againſt the Laws of a *Mix'd Monarchy*, ſuch as *England*'s is, becauſe the Prince believes he has a *Right* to treat *Hereticks* as he pleaſes; and may lawfully take away their *Lives* and ſeize their *Eſtates*,

Eſtates, without doing them any kind of Injuſtice; for being fallen from the *Right* of Society, *he can do them no Wrong*. Beſides, All Princes that attribute to themſelves an *Abſolute Power*, think they owe an Account of their Actions to none but *God*, and a Prince under the Circumſtances that we have obſerved, will never think he diſpleaſes *God*, by deſtroying *Hereticks*, * *that*, as their Writers ſay, *are Enemies to GOD and Man*. So that we ſee the Advancement of *Popery* in a *Proteſtant* Kingdom, is a neceſſary Introduction of *Tyranny*, and Intails a Law of *Miſery* and *Deſolation* upon all Proteſtants: And ſuch was King *James*'s Deſign here.

* Durand. a San. Port. quæſt. 5. utr. ſint tolerand.

Let no Man argue the Impoſſibility of Introducing *Popery* into this Kingdom, becauſe the *Number* of *Papiſts* are but ſmall in reſpect of the *Proteſtants*; for that will not render the Deſign Impracticable, but rather make the *Execution* of it more cruel and barbarous: A whole Nation upon the matter, muſt be *corrupted* from the Faith of the *True* Religion or be *deſtroy'd*. You know

what Progreſſes were made towards it, by Tying all Preferments to *Popery*, *Unarming* Proteſtants, putting the whole *Strength* and *Power* of the Kingdom into the Hands of *Papiſts*, and ſending over *Iriſh Soldiers*, to increaſe a needleſs and dangerous Army. And what this might have grown to in time, was eaſier to *foreſee* than *Remedy*; for an Ordinary Strength, *Unreſiſted*, might *Aſſaſſinate* a whole Nation. *Fifthly*,

5. In the Heat of the late King's *Zeal* and *Fury* to procure ſuch a *Parliament* as might ſet up a Power and Intereſt agreeable to his Humour, and deſtructive to the Kingdom, *Quo Warranto's* like Bombs, were thrown into *Cities* and *Boroughs* to deſtroy the *Freedom* of Elections, which is the *Foundation* of Government; for What will become of the *Liberty of Parliaments*, without the *Freedom* of Elections? And how can *England* enjoy their *Privileges*, without the *Freedom of Parliaments*? All which were to be violated at once by this *Undermining* Project; and Perſons muſt be impoſed upon them for their *Repreſentatives*

tives in Parliament which were none of their Choice, but *Preſs'd* by a *Popiſh* Court and ſolely at their *King*'s Devotion. Some are pleas'd to expreſs themſelves in very harſh Language againſt that which they call the *Pentionary Parliament*, as more zealous for the Advantage of the *Crown*, than the *Welfare* of the Kingdom; But what dreadful Conſequences might be predicted from a Parliament conſiſting both of *Papiſts* and Popiſh *Penſioners*, if it had been poſſible for the late King to have accompliſh'd his Deſigns, are almoſt beyond the Power of *Melancholy* to ſuggeſt them in Figures *black* enough to expreſs their Horrour. The Choice of a Parliament that would do whatever he thought fit, was the only thing wanting, therefore all things were diſpos'd and regulated after ſuch a manner, as might bring ſuch a ſort of Men together at *Weſtminſter*, as might gratifie his Popiſh Arbitrary Ends, and Vote Proteſtants to be *the main Grievance of the Nation.*

6. Another Intrigue of the late King's, was to *Ruin* the Kingdom by a Chain of Conſequences, and as

as the Deſtruction of the *Liberties* of *England* was the Overthrow of the *Proteſtant* Religion, ſo he would make the *Subverſion* of our Religion ſerve to deſtroy our *Liberties*. This made him impatiently covet that *Papiſts* might be freed from the *Penal Laws* and *Teſts*, which were the *Barriers* to Defend the Nation from *Romiſh* Uſurpation. And this piece of Tyranny above all the reſt is moſt notorious. A *Proteſtant Nation* makes *Laws* to preſerve themſelves from being Victims of *Popiſh* Fury: Theſe *Laws* were neceſſary at *all* times, but more eſpecially under the Reign of a *King* that had been pleas'd to *declare* himſelf a *Papiſt*; and yet theſe are the Laws that the late King would *violate*; and not violate only, but utterly * *Aboliſh*: and perſecuted thoſe who had a Zeal to preſerve them; Impriſoning ſome, Deſtituting others, and Threatning all without Exception that dar'd to gain-ſay it.

* Non tam commutandarum, ſed evertendarum rerum cupidi.

For this End he rais'd an *Army*, kept it up in Time of *Peace*, and put into it as many *Iriſh* as he could find, *of the Poſterity of thoſe who committed*

mitted the Barbarous and Bloody Murthers, and Maſſacres on the Bodies of Engliſh *Proteſtants, in* 1641. and to do the like to us in *England*, or force us to ſubmit to the cruel Yoke of *Slavery* and *Superſtition*. 'Tis natural for a Prince to Raiſe Forces for the *Defence* of his Dominions, when he fears *Enemies* from abroad; But to entertain an Army in Times of *Peace*, only to Rob his People of their *Laws* and *Privileges!* to *Ravage* his *Univerſities*, and to put publick Deſtroyers into the Govent, muſt ſurely paſs for a manifeſt *Tyranny!* Our Laws do not only totally exclude *Papiſts* from *Military Offices*, but injoin them to be *Diſarm'd* alſo: Notwithſtanding, *James* the Second did not only *Arm* them, but put them into the *Firſt* Employments of the *Army* and all other Stations: And was ſo fond of them, that no Conſideration either of *Quality*, *Loyalty*, or *Merit*, (except he was a Papiſt,) could Recommend any Man to this King's *Favour*, or give him Title to the common Kindneſs of a *Civil Reception*; but all were *Smil'd* or *Frown'd* on,

as

as they were diſtinguiſh'd by their Religious Principles.

Men may live *happily* under a Government, and yet be excluded from having any *Office*, or exerciſing any *Authority* under it; and therefore the late King's *Fondneſs*, and the Papiſts *Forwardneſs* to thruſt themſelves into Employments, gave a great *Suſpition*, that it was for no *good* End, that he put *Wiſe* and *Experienc'd* Men out, to make room for a ſort of *Raw* Papiſts, who being not *us'd* to Publick Buſineſs, were not capacitated for it. No Man can imagin that the late *King* made this *bold* Adventure, in Employing *Papiſts*, for nothing; or that he would diſoblige the *Body* of his People for their ſakes only, without deſigning ſome other *Advantage* to himſelf by it: He muſt have ſome *peculiar* Service for theſe *Unqualify'd* Favourites to do, in which the reſt of the Nation would not inter-meddle. The Conteſt was between the *King*'s *Abſolute Power* on the one ſide, and our *Laws* and *Religion* on the other: And therefore, to know what Work their *King* had for them to do, and to what End he would

would have employ'd theſe Services *here*, is but to ſee * what Uſe he put them to in *Ireland*, and how they demean'd themſelves towards Proteſtants where the Scene was open'd, and all manner of Violences committed upon Proteſtants, by his Authority.

* Vide *State of* Ireland *under the Reign of the late King* James.

He alſo *corrupted* the Exerciſe of *Juſtice*, on which depends the *Safety* of the Nation and the *Stability* of the Throne. The *Judges* were Tamper'd with, and Admitted upon Condition of favouring and *promoting* the late King's *Arbitrary* Power, and the *Popiſh* Intereſt. Thoſe Judges were Depos'd who were *fix'd* in their *Religion*, and Reſolutely defended the *True* Intereſt of their Country, and others put into their Places, of no *Honour*, *Integrity*, or *Capacity*; but known *Temporizers* or *Papiſts*, who were excluded by the *Laws* of their Country: Upon this, follow'd very Arbitrary and *Illegal* Proceedings in the Courts of Judicature. A *Proſecution* was carry'd on againſt Seven *Reverend Prelates*, for Petitioning the King to *Redreſs* their Grievances, and giving their *Reaſons* why they could not obey his Arbi-

Arbitrary Commands. Cauſes were Try'd in the Court of *King's Bench*, that were only Cognizable in *Parliament*. *Partial*, *Corrupt* and *Unqualify'd* Perſons were Return'd, and Serv'd on *Juries* in Caſes of *High Treaſon*, that were not *Free-Holders*. Great *Bail* requir'd of Perſons Committed in *Criminal* Cauſes. *Exceſſive Fines* Impos'd for ſmall Offences. *Illegal* and *Cruel Puniſhments* Inflicted, without Example or Law, to warrant them. And, for a finiſhing Stroke,

The late King was alſo pleas'd to *Grant* and *Seal* a *Commiſſion* to ſeveral *Unqualify'd* Perſons, to Examine the *Revenues*, and Search into the *Foundations* of all the *Hoſpitals* in the Kingdom, and ſee to what Uſes they were *firſt* given by their *Benefactors*: And into the *Eſtates* that ſome time ago belong'd to *Monks*, *Friars*, and other Religious *Orders* of the *Romiſh* Church, with Intent to Reſtore them to the *Papiſts*, who complain'd to the late King, that they were *Wrongfully* Depriv'd of them. In brief; Never any *Prince*, in ſo *ſhort* a time, committed ſo many

ny *Irregularities*, and made ſuch *Inroads* upon our *All*, as *James* the Second did, by his *Diſpencing* Power in *England*, his *Abſolute* Power without Reſerve in *Scotland*, and his *Actual* and *Abſolute* Deſtruction of the *Liberties* and *Religion* of the *Proteſtants* in *Ireland*.

To which, if we add the *more* than ſeeming Probability of the late *King*'s *Leaguing* with *France*, for the *Extirpation of the Northern Hereſie* 'twill compleat his Deſign, and make the intended Ruin of *England* unavoidable; for *more* Hands would have made *lighter* Work, and Experienc'd *Artiſts* would have finiſh'd it ſooner. I will not urge this *League* as a plain and poſitive *Truth*, tho' I am ſtrongly inclin'd to believe it; and therefore ſhall only produce my *Reaſons*, and leave them with the Reader, to judge as he pleaſes.

Mr. *Coleman*, who muſt be preſum'd to know much of his *Maſter*'s Mind, (being in the ſame *Intereſt*, and the *Tool* he work'd with in all his *Secret* Practices,) gives great Suſpicion of the *Truth* of this Combination in a Letter to Sir *William Throg-*

morton,

morton, Feb. 1. 1678. *You well know*, (ſaith he) *that when the Duke comes to be Maſter of our Affairs*, (*i. e.* to be King of *England*,) *the King of* France *will have Reaſon to promiſe himſelf* All *things that he can deſire*. And in a Letter to Father *Le Chaiſe*, Confeſſor to the *French* King, he ſays, *That His Royal Highneſs was convinc'd that* His *Intereſt and the King of* France's *were the ſame*. And whether he ever thought fit to change his Mind ſince his Acceſſion to the *Crown*, his own Actions will better declare, than any Gloſs of mine.

In this State of Amity Things continu'd between the *French* King, and the *Duke of York* till he was King. And when the *Prince of Orange*'s Fleet was preparing for his *Noble* Expedition into *England*, they ſeem'd to reſt on the ſame Foot; for *Monſieur le Comte d'Avaux*, the *French* King's *Ambaſſador* at the *Hague*, in a *Memorial* to the *States General*, acquaints them, *That his Maſter knowing the great Preparations for War that their Lordſhips were making, both by Sea, and Land, was not without ſome Deſign form'd, anſwuerable to the*

Greatneſs

greatneſs of thoſe preparations, and his Maſter believing that it threaten'd England, *he had Commanded him to declare on his part, that the Bands of Friendſhip and Allyance betweenhim and the King of* Great Britain, *will oblige him not only to aſſiſt him; but alſo to look upon the firſt Act of Hoſtility that ſhall be committed by your Troops, or your Fleet, againſt his Majeſty of* Great Britain, *as a manifeſt Rupture of the Peace, and a Breach with his Crown.*

To this Memorial the States of *Holland* gave Anſwer, *That they Arm'd, after the Example of their Neighbours, to be ready upon Occaſion.* 'Tis true, the *French Ambaſſador*, does not mention the *League* in expreſs words, yet he gives very ſhrewd *Hints* that there was ſome ſuch thing as a *League*, or an *Equivilent*, between the two Crowns; and ſo the States of *Holland* took it. For in their Anſwer to the *Engliſh* ** *Ambaſſadors's Memorial*, their Lordſhips tell him, *That they were long ſince fully convinc'd of the Allyance which the King his Maſter, had treated with* France, *and which has been men-*

** *The Marquiſs* d'Arbaville.

tion'd by Mr. Le Comte d' Avaux *in his Memorial.* The Induſtry and Care that has been us'd to ſtifle this League does alſo give cauſe to ſuſpect it. For the Revoking and Impriſoning Sir *Bevel Skelton* the Engliſh Agent in *France*, upon a Suppoſition that he had talk'd of it, and Rewarding him afterwards with the Lieutenancy of the *Tower* are plain Contradictions; and therefore the *Engliſh*, and *Dutch*, had reaſon to believe the League, and Inſiſt upon it, when the *French* themſelves had diſcover'd it. Now compare all this with Mr. *Coleman*'s Letters, and the *barbarous* perſecutions of the *French* Proteſtants ſo tragically carried on in *France*, and which were alſo going on to be *Imitated* in *England*, at the ſame time that the *French Memorial* was deliver'd, and you will have all the Reaſon in the World to to continue your belief of it, for the greater ſecurity of *England*.

Thus have I given a brief Survey of the late King's *Tyranny*, in Matters of publick *Fact*, as the natural conſequence of his *Eſpouſing* and *Advancing* the *Popiſh* Religion,

upon

upon the Ruins of the *Reformed*. I muſt now acquaint you what Courſe the *Nation* took to procure their *Deliverance*.

Who ſeeing themſelves Involv'd in ſuch *deplorable* Circumſtances, *Gaul'd* under the Yoke of *Papiſtick* Tyranny, *Afflicted* at the diſmal proſpect of being depriv'd of the Exerciſe of their *Eſtabliſh'd* Religion, and the loſs of their *Civil* Properties and Privileges: After they had ineffectually imploy'd all *Dutiful* and Obliging Methods to Reclaim the *King*, and waited till *England* was on the *Brink* of Deſtruction, before they would aſſume their *Natural Right*, and Defend themſelves: *God Almighty*, (who from Heaven beheld their *approaching* Calamities) put it into the Hearts of ſome *thoughtful* Perſons of all *Qualities*, *Degrees*, and *Conditions* in the Kingdom, to make their *humble* Application to the *Illuſtrious Prince of Orange*, who as a *Soveraign Independant Prince*, nearly *allyed* by his own *Blood*, but nearer by his Virtuous *Princeſs* to the *Crown* of *England*, and a Proteſtant in his Reli-

gion, had an undoubted *Right* to interpoſe between the late *King* and his injur'd *Subjects*, and according to his own Benignity, and the Example of his *Illuſtrious Progenitors*, Defend, and Deliver, an oppreſs'd People.

Divine Providence having thus preſcrib'd the *Means* of our *Deliverance*, ſome good Men, whoſe Names ought to be Celebrated with *Eternal* praiſes, found a way maugre the danger that attended it, to *Addreſs* this magnanimous Prince: Lay the Complaints and Dangers of the Kingdom before him, and Implore his *Gracious* Aid and Effectual *Aſſiſtance*, to Free a Languiſhing people from inevitable Ruin; *promiſing to Live and Dye with his Highneſs in ſo Glorious an Enterprize.*

Animated by his known *Piety*, and Chriſtian *Compaſſion*, his Native *Heroick* Bravery, and the *Prayers* and *Neceſſities* of a miſerably Harraſs'd, and almoſt *Ruin'd* Kingdom, he was pleas'd to undertake our *Deliverance*; and to the Goodneſs of *God*, and this Great Prince's *Wiſe* and *Valiant* Conduct only, We owe

that

that Mercy; for tho *God* can work *miraculouſly* for the Accompliſhment of his own *Will*, yet in *Human* Reaſoning, no other *Prince* but our now *Gracious King*, was qualify'd to undertake it. For,

He is a *Prince* of a *Ripe* and *Excellent* Apprehenſion, of a ſtrong and profound *Judgment*; has a *Right Notion* in all *Ambiguities*, and is not eaſily Impos'd upon by the *Sentiments* of others. Able to *Determine* in all Occurrences, by the ſtrength of his own *Genius*; and yet never unwilling to hear the Opinions of his Counſellors: *Deliberate* in his Reſolves, and *Firm* in his Purpoſes: *Undaunted* in *Dangers*, and of a *ſteddy* Conduct in *Security*. That knows how to *gain Power*, and how to make it *Pleaſant* and *dureable* by the *Regular* uſe of it, as appeared to all the *World* in the *Upright* and *Diſcreet* management of this Great, and almoſt *Miraculous* Revolution.

The *States of Holland* accommodated the *Prince of Orange* with Shipping, and other Neceſſaries for this glorious Expedient, and *meritted*

our eternal Gratitude; but having met with ill Returns * from ſome *Mercenary* Pens, I ſhall take off the Scandal and Reproach they have thrown upon that Action, by ſhewing it, *Kind, Grateful, and Juſtifiable to all the World.*

* Dutch *Deſign Anatomized.*

There are many Conſiderations that juſtify the *Interpoſition* of the States of *Holland*, and the firſt is, That 'twas to preſerve the Peace of *Europe*; for all their Neighbouring *Princes* perceiving the growing *power* of *France* to threaten the Welfare and Quiet of *Chriſtendom*; and that the *Obſequious* compliance of the late King *James*, in all the Proceedings of that Towering *Monarch* (as well as *Monſieur le Comte d'Avaux's Memorial;*) ſhew'd a dangerous *Allyance* between thoſe *Two* Crowns; the Princes of *Europe*, and the States of *Holland*, enter'd into a Confederacy to prevent the Conjunction of the *Armies* of theſe two Princes, and ſave *Europe*. This memorable Concurrence happening about the ſame time that the Prince of *Orange* had promis'd to Aſſiſt the People of *England*, in Redreſſing their *Grievances*, and

and Reſtoring them to their *Juſt* Rights and Privileges. Whilſt the Prince of *Orange* was doing that *Good* Office in *England*, the other Princes in the League, watch'd the the Motions of *France*, and made them uncapable of helping each other; and ſo the Emperor of *Germany*, the *Pope* himſelf, and the reſt of the Confederate *Princes* as well as the States of *Holland*, were in the ſame deſign againſt the late King *James*, as the only means to preſerve the peace of *Europe*.

Beſides, in this *Generous* Action, the States of *Holland* writ after an Engliſh Copy, and expreſs'd their Gratitude for the ſame *Good* Office the *Engliſh* did them on the like occaſion, * when the *Spaniards* threaten'd not to leave a *Proteſtant* alive in *Holland*.

* *Hiſt. Belg. p.* 203.

Thoſe Provinces are of the ſame Religion with us, and when they ſaw our *Prince* had form'd Deſigns to make us all *Papiſts*, or *Deſtroy* us, even Humanity oblig'd them to ſuccour us, when the whole Nation ſo apparently wanted it; but the beſt Reaſon for what they did, ex-

cept thoſe of common *Chriſtianity*, is given by themſelves; as I find it in an Extract of the Reſolutions of the States of *Holland* upon the 28*th.* of *October*, 1688. where, among other Reaſons, for Aſſiſting the Prince of *Orange* with a *Fleet* and an *Army*, this is one. *The King of* France (ſay they) *hath, upon ſeveral Occaſions, ſhew'd himſelf diſaffected to that State, which gave Cauſe to fear, and apprehend, that in caſe the King of* Great Britain *ſhould happen to obtain an Abſolute Power over his People; that then both Kings out of Intereſt of State, and Hatred, and Zeal, againſt the Proteſtant Religion, would endeavour to bring that State to confuſion, and, if poſſible, quite ſubject it.*

There is no queſtion, but this *Wiſe* and *Prudent* State ſaw our *Ruine*, would, in time, prove their own alſo, and *Foreſeeing* and *Preventing* it, will Juſtify them before God and all the World.

Now to ſhew that other Princes were of the ſame Opinion with the States of *Holland*, and ſaw the Deſigns of the F. K. and the late King *James* threaten'd the Peace and Safe-

ty

ty of *Europe*: Let us take a ſhort view how theſe Princes carried it one towards the other.

None are Ignorant that the F. K. as ſoon as he apprehended that a pretended Zeal for *Religion* was the only way to advanee his *Ends*, and humor his *Ambition*, but that he trumpt it up in all Courts where the ſame Religion was profeſs'd. Religion was a Cloak to his Deſigns, when he made an *Incurſion* into the *Spaniſh Netherlands*; and in the laſt *Dutch* War * (from whence We may date all our Misfortunes.) He in Conjunction with the King of *Great Britain* to deſtroy the States of *Holland*, Intimated by his Ambaſſadors to the *Pope*, to the Emperor of *Germany*, and all other *Princes*, whom he had a mind to deter from lending Aſſiſtance to the *Dutch*, that they were a Nation fallen into *Abominable Hereſies*, and therefore all Chriſtians were oblig'd in *Conſcience* to War againſt them, and rend in pieces that flouriſhing *Republick*; and this furniſh'd King *James* with the ſame Religious pretences againſt his own People.

* *Anno* 1671.

At

At the very beginning of the late King's Reign, the F. K. ſet him a Pattern at home, and broke the inviolable Edict of *Nants*,* and King *James*, in imitation of ſo pious an Example, ſet up his diſpencing Power in *England*, violated his Oaths and Promiſes to his People, and both under pretence of Zeal for Religion; but all the Roman Catholick Princes were ſenſible to what eminent dangers that boaſted Zeal had reduc'd them to; for what Reverence, what Veneration could they think thoſe Princes had for the Name of Chriſtian, that made no Conſcience of their Oaths, that broke their Faith with Chriſtians, and leagu'd with Infidels; who prefer'd the Creſcent of *Mahomet* before the Croſs of *Chriſt*, and brib'd the *Turks* to begin a War againſt the Emperor † and Ruin that Capital City *Vienna*, which is the Bulwork of *Chriſtendom* againſt the Incurſions of the *Barbarians*.

* Vid. *Ed.* Nants, 1685.

† 1683.

Who can think that Spiritual Things ever imploy'd the thoughts of that Monarch, unleſs in order to Temporals, that reflects with what violence

violence he makes oſtentation of his Zeal at home, and at the ſame time eſpouſes the Cauſe of the Proteſtants in *Germany* and *Hungary*, perſwading them to follow the Fortune of Count *Teckeley*, and to joyn with the *Turk*, to demand ſatisfaction for the violence offer'd to their Religion. And this deceitful Artifice and Chichanery was the Cauſe that the Pope, for ſome time, reſolutely refus'd to elect *Fourbin* into the Coledge of Cardinals.

As this affected Devotion of the *F*-- K. was ſubſervient to his Ambition, ſo *James* IId's Biggotry was early ſuſpected to riſe from the ſame Cauſe, as the Earl of *Shaftsbury* declar'd before King *Charles* II. in a Speech * in the Houſe of Lords, that the Duke of *York* had quitted his Religion, *that he might gain a powerful party to his Faction.* And this agrees with a Letter written about the ſame time, and Recorded in the fifth Book of Collections; wherein the Author tells the Duke of *York*, that 'tis the opinion of all Men, that he Apoſtatiz'd from his Old, and embrac'd a New Religon, not

* Shaftsbury's *Speech. State tracts.* Part 1. p. 463.

not as Charm'd by its Perfections, but allur'd by the promiſes of an Abſolute Monarchy, and the blandiſhments of a Deſpotick Power, which by this means would one time or other fall into his Hands. Afterwards the ſame Letter admoniſhes the Duke to beware, leſt being dazled with the ſplendour of the *French* Monarchy he ſhould endeavour to overthrow the beſt Government in the World, ſince he ſeem'd to imitate King *John* who offer'd to turn Mahometan, if the Emperor of *Morocco* would aſſiſt him with a Force, to Revenge the Inſolency of the Barons, who vindicated their Liberties againſt the Encroachments of their King.

The Succeſſes of *France* in War, the intimate correſpondence between the Duke of *York* and that King, who manag'd *England* by the Politicks of Cardinal *Richlieu* and *Mazarine*, at length induc'd the Duke of *York* to publiſh himſelf a Papiſt, and knowing that thereby he hazarded the loſs of the Church of *England* party, he cajoll'd the Diſſenters, and heap'd his Favours upon them, that they might

might be the Tools of his Ambition, and alſo careſs'd the Romaniſts both at home and abroad, that they might be inclin'd for Religion ſake to aſſiſt him.

But the Catholick Princes fathomed his deſign, which was ſtaged under the mask of Piety, and joyn'd with the Intereſt of *France*; and therefore Pope *Innocent* XI. was not only incens'd with the *French* King, and when he was drawing his laſt breath, recommended his Emnity to the Cardinals that ſtood about him; but alſo deliver'd it as his Judgment, * that the deſigns of the late King *James* tended only to his own Ambition, and his Brother's of *France*: and therefore did not receive the Earl of *Caſtlemain*, his Ambaſſador, with ſo much Honour as was due to ſuch a magnificent and ſumptuous appearance; for his Holineſs knew how all things were ſo manag'd by the Jeſuits, that every thing ſhould be a Sacrifice to the Ambition of *France*; and therefore as the Pope Complimented the late King *James* with a coolneſs of affection, ſo he allways ſuſpected him, ſometimes diſ-

* *Vindic. Gov.* P. 44.

diſcover'd his Animoſity, and receiv'd the News * of his Abdication with tranſports of Joy and Gladneſs.

* Vid. repreſentat. *of Dangers in* pol. tract. par. 2. p. 398.

'Tis manifeſted the *Emperor* of *Germany* concurr'd in opinion with the *Pope*, for after the late *King's Abdication*, when he beg'd the Emperor's aſſiſtance in his misfortunes, * and made uſe of his affection to the *Romiſh Religion* as a motive to encline him; the Emperor return'd this Anſwer, *That the late King* James's *Affairs had been now in a proſperous condition if he had hearkn'd to the advice of his Ambaſſador,* * *and not to the perfidy and flattery of the* F-- *King, and had hindred by his Authority and Arms the* F-- *from violating the League, and Peace, whereof he was made Guarrantee by the Treaty of* Nimeguen. Now, ſays the Emperor, *How can I aſſiſt you, who muſt be forc'd to oppoſe the Forces of* F--, *and the Turk, who did not doubt of the Fidelity and Aſſiſtance of* England; *for the greateſt injury that can be offer'd to our Religion is done by the* F--, *who is Confederated with the Turk, the inveterate Enemy of Chriſtianty.* So that the *Je-*

* *Tracts of pol. vol.* 12. vid. *the Emp. of* Ger. *Letter.*

* Comitis de Kaknuits.

ſuits

ſuits that perſwade the Roman Catholick Princes for their Religion ſake to deſert the Friendſhip of our Potent Monarch, who has reſtor'd us to our Dying Liberties, is juſt as if they ſhould perſwade the Confederate Princes to declare for thoſe two Kings, who not only deſign'd to enſlave all *Europe*, but alſo cheriſh'd the cauſe of the *Infidels* againſt the *Chriſtians*; and this brings me again into *England*.

And here it would be vain and impertinent in me, to attempt to give a particular account of the Prince his *ſucceſsful* and *proſperous* Expedition, where there were ſo many Eye-Witneſſes of that great and miraculous *Providence*, that was viſible in the progreſs thereof; which was ſuch as ſhew'd the undertaking to be acceptable to Almighty God, who proſpers the endeavours of Good Men; but taketh the wicked in the Nets which they ſpread for the Innocent. I ſhall therefore only tell the Reader that His *Highneſs the Prince of Orange* being happily and ſafely arriv'd in *England*, He was *Saluted* and *Welcom'd* with all the demonſtrations and

Tran-

tranſports of *Joy* and *Gladneſs*, that an ill us'd Nation were able to Expreſs, under a ſenſe of their *Calamity*, and a hopeful proſpect of *Deliverance*, from a cruel *Tyranny*.

This *Joy* and *Satisfaction* daily increas'd as his *Highneſs's* Declaration was ſpread through the Kingdom. For the *Jeſuits* having loaded this *Pious* and *Noble* Expedition, with all the Odium of Virulent Pens and Tongues, his *Highneſs's Declaration*, which ſhew'd the End of his coming, was not with any *deſign* upon the *Perſon* of the late *King*, Aſpiring at his *Crown*, or with any intention to ſubdue the Kingdom? (as had been maliciouſly ſuggeſted) but purely that the *Abuſes* and *Grievances* of the People (Pathetically and Truly Enumerated, in his *Highneſs's Declaration*) might be Redreſs'd by a *Parliament*, free in all its circumſtances; all *Fears* and *Jealouſies* vaniſh'd, and Men of all Qualities haſten'd to put themſelves under the *Auſpicious* Conduct of this *Illuſtrious Prince*, that God in the Eternal Counſel of his Wiſdom, had Appointed to be the Glorious Deliverer of *England*. Now

Now let all Men judge of the *Equity* of his *Highneſs's* Demands, and the *Juſtice* of his Proceedings. His *Own*, and his *Princeſs's Right* to the Succeſſion of the *Crown*, was like to be ſupplanted by a *ſuppoſititious* Child, and a flouriſhing Kingdom in danger of *Deſtruction*, and both *evidently*, *plainly* and *certainly* ſo. And can any Man think he ought to Renounce his *Own*, and his *Princeſs's Right*, and fruſtrate the Expectation of a *whole* Kingdom, to which he was Allied by *Blood*, *Nature*, and all the ſacred *Obligations* of Religion, rather than diſturb the progreſs of a *Jeſuitick* Tyranny, cover'd under Royal Authority? Sure none in the World can think ſo!

Had this Illuſtrious Prince conceiv'd any *Prejudice* againſt this Unfortunate Monarch *James* II. Turn'd his Eye toward the Crown, or would have ſeen *England's* Miſery before the *Oppreſs'd* Subjects themſelves Repreſented it to him, and pray'd his Relief; His Highneſs was not without an earlier * knowledge of it, and Solicitations to do what at laſt *Neceſſity* compell'd him to. For there are ma-

* Defence de la Nation Britanique, p. 50.

ny yet alive in *Germany*, *Holland* and *England*, that very well remember how much his *Highneſs* was Importun'd at *James* the 2d's firſt coming to the Crown to make a *Deſcent* into *England*, with a Force able to Redreſs the Affairs of that Country, and prevent the inevitable Ruin which ſo openly threaten'd it. This was known immediately after the Death of *Charles* the Second, when one of the moſt powerful *Princes* of *Europe* having repreſented to his *Highneſs* that *All* was going to Ruin, and would be utterly loſt in *England*, if a ſudden Interpoſition of the *Prince of Orange* did not prevent its impending Deſtruction, and therefore Offer'd him what Aſſiſtance was requiſite for ſuch a *Noble* and *Pious* Enterprize; but that *Puiſſant* Prince receiv'd no other *Anſwer*, but that his *Highneſs* was in hopes that God, and that King's own *Intereſt*, would poſſeſs him with *better* Sentiments, and therefore his *Highneſs* would Attempt nothing in that kind againſt the late King, till he was forc'd to it by the laſt Extremity; but if his hopes were diſappointed, and there

was

was no other Remedy, he would not be wanting in his Duty. And,

God be prais'd, his *Highneſs* at length, in due time, perform'd his *Promiſe*, and *Silenc'd* all that declaim againſt it.

It cannot be imagin'd that his Highneſs was *pleas'd* to ſee the Efforts of the late King, in aboliſhing the *Penal Laws* againſt *Papiſts*, which were ſo eſſentially neceſſary to our Preſervation; nor can his Highneſs be thought eaſy at the ſight of the late King's climbing up a *Precipice* from which he muſt neceſſarily fall, or by an *Artificial* and *Politick* Silence incourage K. *James*'s Miniſters to carry all things to ſuch Extremities, as might render his Conduct Odious; for the Letter of Mr. *Fagell* upon this Subject, will be an Eternal Monument of the *Free* and *Sincere* proceedings of his Highneſs with the late King in this whole Matter.

Much leſs can our Adverſary deny that his Highneſs was Requeſted by the *People* to Defend their Religion, Rights and Privileges: for God Almighty, to the eternal Con-

fusion of our Enemies, suffer'd themselves to declare it, in a *Memorial*, they publish'd to all the *Confederate Princes*, with design to break the League they were so much afraid of; for after they had in that paper *undecently* treated his Highness, and menac'd him with I know not how many *Tragical Stories*, they yet acknowledge that *He was Invited by the Nation.*

Nor could his Highness hinder the *Lords*, and other Persons of the *best Quality* in *England*, from shewing their Grievances, and Imploring his *Gracious* Succor, when the *Extremities* they were under compell'd them to it; and also told *Him* that if his *Highness* refus'd them, they would enter into their *Natural Right*, and Defend themselves by their own strength, against a *Power* which was become (as they declar'd to his *Highness* in their *Memorial*) a Power of Destruction.

Let our Adversaries now tell us, if the Case was not very *Important*; and whether the *Prince of Orange* ought to have contemn'd the just *Fears* of the *English*, and all the *Protestants*

teſtants of *Europe*, who are imbark'd in the ſame *Intereſt* and *Danger*, and have ſlighted all the Princes that either by themſelves, or by their *Miniſters*, perſwaded his Highneſs to enter upon an *Action* on which depended the *Common* Safety of *Europe*? I don't believe they dare ſay, after all the Facts we have enumerated, that his Highneſs ought to contemn the *Publick*, or diſpute Matters of ſo great *Notoriety*; but if the Engliſh Fears were *well* grounded, and their Oppreſſions *True* and *Real*, and that if his Highneſs could not perſwade himſelf from being of the *ſame* Opinion with the reſt of the World, that he could refuſe to aſſiſt thoſe that requeſted it, in ſuch a preſſing neceſſity; and on an Occaſion where *Providence* appear'd ſo expreſly for our *Deliverance*, and which if neglected, perhaps could never be Retriev'd.

Now let the *French* Miſſionaries, or their *Engliſh* Pupils produce their *Fine* Reaſons, and tell us if his Highneſs ought to forget his *God*, his *Religion*, the Rights of his *Princeſs*, his *Own*, the *Liberty* of *England*, and

of *Holland* (which muſt Infallibly ſhare in the Misfortunes and Depredations of *England*) the *Proteſtant* Religion breathing its laſt, and all *Europe* in danger of loſing its Liberty; Let them alſo tell us if they *can*, whether the Reſpects due to a *Father in-Law* could counter-balance ſo many Great and ſtupendious Intereſts, or the *Sacred* and Inviolable Obligations that ingaged him to God, and the publick good of ſo many *Millions* of Souls that depended on it?

Every *Prince of the Royal Blood of* England, is, in Right of that *Blood*, oblig'd to regard *England* as his *Own* Country, and to take care of the Inhabitants over whom he has a *Right* to *Reign*; that the *Demeans* of the Crown be not Waſted, nor the Subjects Injur'd; and the *nearer* he approaches the *Succeſſion*, the greater is his Obligation to Defend them from Violence, and his Country from Ruin; to which Country, next unto his God *, and before all other Relations whatſoever, he ſtands *Particularly*

* Chari ſunt parentes, chari liberi, propinqui, familiares; ſed omnes omnium charitates Patriæ una complexa eſt pro qua quis bonus dubitet mortem oppetere, ſi ea ſit profuturus. *Cic. de Of.*

larly and *Religiously* concern'd for its Peace and Preſervation.

His Highneſs the *Prince of Orange* could not neglect it *now* in *common* Prudence, without manifeſt *prejudice* to his Right of Succeſſion; for the People of *England*, by applying to his Highneſs, had not only *Recognized* his Right to the *Succeſſion*, but alſo acqaainted him in their *Memorial*, that if he refuſed them *Succor* under their preſent Ill *Circumſtances*, they would Aſſume their *own* Right, and Free themſelves; and how far their *Reſentments* of ſuch a Slight might have Tranſported them, is not eaſy to imagine.

Now altho the *Reaſons* alledg'd are ſufficient to ſhew the *Juſtice* of the Prince's Interpoſing between the late King and his Subjects; yet I ſhall ſhew alſo that it is juſtified by many *Preſidents*, and where the Emergencies were not ſo *conſiderable* as ours, nor their Titles to the Government ſo Inconteſtable as the Prince of *Orange*'s was to the Crown of *England*, who yet are Celebrated in *Hiſtory* for their great Atchievements on *ſuch* Occaſions.

Constantine's quarrel with *Maxentius*, * had no other ground (and that was enough) than that *Maxentius* Tyranniz'd over the *Romans*; for which *Constantine* Invaded him, Slew him, and was receiv'd by the *Romans* as their Deliverer. As remarkable was his Raising *War* against his *Brother* in Law *Licinius*, because he persecuted the *Christians*; for which, when he had overcome the *Tyrant*, the *Christians* plac'd him on the Throne in *Licinius*'s Room; and Historians have *Celebrated* his Name as a most Holy, and Generous *Champion*, in the Cause of *Christ* and their *Country*. *Constantine*, the Younger Son of *Constantine* the Great, threatned his Brother *Constantius* with a War, and made him desist from persecuting the *Catholick Bishops*, and forc'd him to Restore *Athanasius* to his Bishoprick of *Alexandria*: The like was done by King *Pipin*, and *Charles* the Great against the *Lombards*, and by all the *Christian* Princes against the *Turk*, in the Holy War.

* Eusebius Eccl. *Hist. p.* 268.

To come nearer our own times. *Queen Elizabeth* gave a Powerful Aid

to

to the *Hollanders*, * againſt the Tyranny of the *Spaniards*. King *James* the Firſt * on the behalf of the Prince *Palatine*, againſt the *Emperour* of *Germany*. King *Charles* the Firſt, aſſiſted the *Rochellers* with a *Fleet*, and an *Army* againſt the *French* King in the cauſe of *Religion*, and was incouraged to it by ſeveral of his *Biſhops*; and 'twas always look'd upon as a great *Blemiſh* on the Reign of King *Charles* the Second, and gave ſuſpicion of his being in the *Popiſh* Intereſt, that he ſuffered the *F.* K. to proceed ſo far in deſtroying his *Proteſtant* Subjects, without ſuch a ſeaſonable *Interpoſition* as might have prevented it, or gain'd an Opportunity of making his Reign *glorious*, and his Kingdom *eaſy*, by a War which in all probaliry would have brought that *Monarch* into better Terms for the Advantage of *Europe*. So that from the *Reaſons* aforementioned, and the *Preſidents* now alledg'd, his *Highneſs*'s Expedition to Reſcue an *Injur'd* People from the Tyranny of *Arbitary Power*, was one of the moſt *Generous* and *Pious* Enterprizes, that any Age has ac-

quainted

* *Vid.* Engliſh Chron. *and Hiſt. of her Life.*

* *See his Manifeſto.* 16. *and* K. C. *Declaration on that Subject.*

quainted us with; and that the *Good* of this Nation, was the *only* motive that gave birth to this undertaking; see it in the Words of his Highnesses own Declaration.

Since the English Nation has always testified a most particular Affection and Esteem, both to our Dearest Consort the Princess, and to our selves, we cannot excuse our selves, from Espousing their Interests in matters of such high Consequences; and from contributing all that lies in us, for maintaining both of the Protestant Religion, and of the Laws and Liberties of those Kingdoms, and for the securing to them, the continual enjoyment of all their just Rights, to the doing of which, we are most earnestly solicited by a great many Lords, both Spiritual and Temporal, and by many Gentlemen and other Subjects of all Ranks. Therefore it is, that we have thought fit to go over into England, *and to carry over with us a Force, able by the Blessing of God, to defend us from the Violence of those Evil Counsellors; and we being desirous, that our Intentions in this may be rightly understood, declare that this our expedition*

is

is intended for no other deſign, but to have a free, and lawful Parliament aſſembled as ſoon as is poſſible; and that in order to this, all the late Charters by which the Elections of Burgueſſes are limited contrary to the Antient cuſtom, ſhall be conſidered as Null, and of no Force; and likewiſe all Magiſtrates who have been unjuſtly turn'd out, ſhall forthwith Reſume their former Imployments, as well as all the Boroughs of England, *ſhall return again to their ancient preſcriptions, and Charters, and that the Writs for the Members of Parliament ſhall be addreſſed to their proper Officers, according to Law and Cuſtom. That alſo none be ſuffer'd to chooſe, or to be choſen Members of Parliament, but ſuch as are qualified by Law; and that the Members of Parliament ſhall meet, and ſit in full freedom; that ſo the two Houſes may contur in preparing ſuch Laws, as they upon full and free debate, ſhall judge Neceſſary, and Convenient, both for the confirming and executing the Law concerning the Teſt, and ſuch other Laws as are neceſſary and convenient, for the ſecurity and maintenance of the Proteſtant Religion, &c.*

Thus

Thus his Highneſs was pleas'd to declare his intentions, with which the Nation was ſo *Intirely* ſatisfied, that they conquer'd all that Read, or heard them, inſomuch, that many Perſons of *Quality*, and others, met his *Highneſs* at *Exeter*, put themſelves under his *Conduct*, and many other *Lords* and *Great* Men, who had rais'd *Forces* in all parts of the Kingdom, to ſtrengthen the *Prince*'s Expedition, were marching with all ſpeed to joyn his Highneſs's Troops. And now

A *War* being ready to break forth in the *Bowells* of the Kingdom, ſeveral *Spiritual* and *Temporal* Lords, in an humble Petition to the late *King*, adviſe him in order to Redreſs the *Grievances* of his People, to prevent *Diſtractions*, and the effuſion of Chriſtian *Blood*, to call a *Parliament* free in all its circumſtances; but the late *King* was pleas'd to *Deny* their Requeſt, *till the Prince of* Orange *had acquitted the Realm*.

* vid. *his Anſwer to the Lord's Petition.*

Several *Privy Counſellors* before this, had adviſ'd his Majeſty to call a *Parliament* without delay, and before his Subjects *Ask'd* it; aſſuring him,

him, that if any attempts were made upon his Royal Perſon, or Authority, it would effectually engage many honeſt Men to ſtand by him; beſides, no ill conſequences could be ſuſpected from it, becauſe it would always be in his Power to *Prorogue* or *Diſſolve* it; and then he might, at the laſt Shift, truſt to his *Land* and *Sea* Forces. But

The *Jeſuites*, who had his *Ear*, and *Heart*, entirely open, and fix'd to their *pernicious* Counſels, on the other hand, repreſented to him, that he would be in *Danger* to ſee the great *Forces* which he had then on foot, join with his *Parliament* againſt him; or, at leaſt, *Diſcontents* and *Diviſions* would ariſe amongſt them: But if he *ſtood his Ground, and ſuffer'd no Parliament to meet*, *All* would faithfully adhere to him, ſo long as he abſolutely rely'd on his *Forces*: And, accordingly, he took this laſt and worſt Advice, and would never be brought off, till it ended in his Ruin.

In order to fight the Prince, the late King having ſent a great Army before, he marches down to *Salisbury* himſelf;

himself; where continuing a while, and finding his Army daily Desert, and being assur'd by the Lord *Feversham*, and others, that he could not *Rely* upon the remaining part of his *Soldiery*, (who unanimously declar'd *they would not fight against Protestants, nor offend the Prince that Heaven had sent, for the Deliverance of the Nation from Popery*,) with a very *small* Number of *Attendants* the late King returns again to *London*, and in *Council* orders the Lord Chancellor *Jeffreys* to * *Issue out Writs for the Sitting of a Parliament at* Westminster *on the 15th Day of* January *following*. And,

* vid. *the Proclamation dat.* Nov. 30th, 1688.

To second this *plausible* Pretence of Gratifying the *Prince*, and the *whole* Nation, in Calling a Parliament, the late *King*, by three *Noble Peers*, sets on foot a *Treaty* with the *Prince*, for the Security of the Parliament's Sitting without Interruption, the Accommodating all *Differences*, and Restoring Peace and Tranquility to the Nation. The *Prince* freely accepts it; and with the Advice of the *Lords* and *Gentlemen* assembl'd with him, his Highness was

pleas'd

pleas'd to ſend the late King ſuch Propoſals as he was pleas'd to ſay, * *were Better, and Fairer, than he could, or did expect from him*: But all this, on the late King's part, was only a *Flouriſh*, a Touch of the *Jeſuits* Morals; for the late King *never* intended to perform one Syllable of theſe *Specious* Pretences; and therefore, having ſent away the *Queen*, the *Child*, Count *Dada*, the Pope's *Nuntio*, Father *Petre*, and cauſed the *Broad Seal* to be thrown into the *Thames*, he only ſhew'd this Complaiſance, to *Gain Time* for his own Departure into *France* after them.

* *The Letter to a Biſhop*, p. 14.

What a fair Opportunity was now, at the very laſt, put into the late *King*'s Hands, to have Redeem'd his *Honour*, *Settl'd* the Nation, and prevented all ill Conſequences to his Perſon, and Affairs, if he had purſu'd his own propos'd Methods for an *Accommodation*, and kept his *Voluntary* Promiſes; but he would not. So that we can ſolve theſe *Self-ſought* Evils no otherwiſe, but by ſaying,

What

What *Heaven*, in the *Eternal Council* of his own *Will*, has Decreed, can never be *Revok'd*; and that for the Accompliſhing God's *Divine* Pleaſure, Men act directly contrary to their own *Intereſts*, which has been notorious in the *whole* Conduct of this Unhappy *Prince*, and has been Jocoſely obſerv'd by others.

I remember to have ſeen a *Letter* written into *France*, from *Ireland*, by a *French* Commander there, giving an Account of the late King *James*'s Management of his Affairs in that Kingdom, wherein he expreſſes himſelf after this manner, *That if* (the late) *King* James *had as many Kingdoms to loſe as are number'd in Europe, his own Conduct would forfeit them all; for if he had Twenty Counſellors, and Nineteen of them were Men of approv'd Wiſdom, and Integrety, and but one Fool, and ſenſleſs Perſon among them, he would certainly follow the advice of that blind* Bayard, *in oppoſition to all the other Sages.* But,

Without reflecting upon his *Counſellors*, the late *King* confirm'd the *French Gentleman*'s Opinion of himſelf,

ſelf, in purſuing the Falſe and Deſtructive *Opinions* of thoſe that adviſed him to withdraw himſelf, againſt the wholeſome Counſels of ſo many *Wiſe* Men, that advis'd Calling of a *Parliament*, in order to his own, and the Nation's future Happineſs; and made it appear a Project ſo weak, and ſilly, that there ſeems ſomething of a Divine Infatuation in it.

But he had promis'd the *Queen*, and, as ſome ſay, taken the *Sacrament* upon it, to follow her; and thought fit rather to break his Promiſe with a whole Nation, than not humour a *pettiſh* Woman: *Go he muſt, go he will, let whatever will be the Conſequence of it:* And therefore, to do all the *Miſchief* he could before he went, and leave the *Realm* in all the *Confuſion* was poſſible;

He Order'd all thoſe *Writs* for the Sitting of a *Parliament* that were not ſent out, to be *burnt*, and a *Caveat* to be Enter'd againſt the making uſe of thoſe that were ſent out; and about the ſame time ſent Orders to the Earl of *Feverſham* to Diſband the Army, and Diſmiſs the

Soldiers, which was done accordingly: And then the late *King* made his *firſt* Attempt to leave the Kingdom.

How could the *Jeſuits* have done their *King* a greater Injury, than in perſuading him to a continual Breach of his Promiſes, which expos'd his *Honour* and *Integrity* to common Cenſure, and drew the Contempt of the whole Nation upon him, as *a Prince never to be truſted!* At his firſt Acceſſion to the *Throne*, one of the Things his *Favourites* magnify'd him for, was, for being *True* to his Word; but he reſolv'd to *prove* the contrary, and break it in every Inſtance.

He *promis'd* to protect the Church of *England*, and maintain the *Proteſtant* Religion, when his whole *Deſign* was to deſtroy both, and declar'd it in every *Action!* He *promiſed* to Govern by *Law*, and not *Arbitrarily*; and at the ſame time was Inveſting himſelf, and his Miniſters, with a *Power* to deſtroy them! He *promis'd* an equal Diſtribution of his Favours; and that he would ſerve himſelf, and the Government, indifferently,

jerently, with the Uſe of *All* his Subjects; yet ſet up *Papiſts*, to cruſh the *Proteſtants!* And when driven to the *laſt* Extremity, when his *All* was at Stake, He *promis'd* to Call a *Parliament*, when he was reſolv'd it ſhould have no *Effect*; and therefore *burnt* the *Writs*, to hinder their Sitting; He *promis'd*, by this Means, to ſecure the *Peace* and *Happineſs* of the Kingdom; when he had reſolv'd before-hand, to *withdraw* himſelf, and leave it in Confuſion!

Of theſe Riddles, and Self-Contradictions, we had continual Experience from his *Creatures* alſo; who, when they were under any *Neceſſity* of ſerving themſelves by the *Credulity* of *Proteſtants*, flap'd us in the Mouth with their King's *Juſtneſs* to his *Word*; but when the *Fiſh* was caught, threw away the *Net*, and left the *Proteſtants* to repent their Eaſineſs at leiſure. So that Doctor *Cartwright* had the only true Notion of a *Popiſh* King's *Promiſes*, when in a *Sermon* Preach'd at his Deanary of *Rippon*, he told his Auditors, *that the late King's Promiſes were Donatives, and ought not to be too ſtrictly*

examin'd, or charg'd upon him; but that we muſt leave His Majeſty to explain his own Meaning: For which, and other *like* Services, he was rewarded with the Biſhoprick of *Cheſter:* And the late King did the Doctor the *Honour* to Copy his Original, and ſuffer'd neither *Truth*, *Faith*, nor *Sincerity*, to accompany any of his *Promiſes* made to his good *Proteſtant* Subjects.

Nay, if the late King would at any time have kept his Word, he could not; for by putting himſelf under the Power of the *Roman* Church, he made it as impoſſible for him to keep his Faith with *Proteſtants*, as it was for *Sygiſmond* the Emperor to prevent the Burning of *Jerome* of *Prague*, (to whom he had granted Safe Conduct,) when the Council of *Conſtance* had a Mind to Sacrifice him, as a Contumacious Heretick.

Delays being dangerous, and the late King's *Tricking* evident, His Highneſs the *Prince of Orange*, by the Advice and Conſent of the *Body* of the Nation, took up a Reſolution of ſending out his *Circular Letters* to all

all Parts of the Kingdom, to chuſe *Members* for a *Convention* of the *Eſtates* of the Kingdom, to Meet at *Weſtminſter*, and ſettle the Affairs of the Nation; but before the appointed time of their Seſſion came, *News* was brought, *That the late King endeavouring to make his Eſcape, was taken in* * Kent, *and brought (with Sir* Edward Hales, *and Mr.* la Baddy,) *to* Feverſham, *in that County.* Whereupon, ſome *Lords* (by what Politicks I am a Stranger to) ſent the Lords *Feverſham*, *Ailesbury*, *Yarmouth* and *Middleton*, to deſire the late King to return to *London*; which he comply'd with: Came to *Whitehall* on † *Sunday* in the Evening, and on * *Thurſday* following ſummon'd a *Council*:

* *Decemb.* 12.

† *Decemb.* 14

* *Decemb.* 18.

And to ſhew he *Return'd* with the ſame *Principles*, and *Reſolutions*, that he went away with, tho' he had then a lucky Opportunity to *Ingratiate* himſelf with his *Proteſtant* Subjects, by doing ſome *Pleaſing* and *Popular* Act in favour of them, and their Religion; directly on the contrary, as if he *courted* his own *Ruin*, all he did in that *Laſt* Act of his *Government*,

was ſhewing his Reſpect and Zeal for the *Popiſh* Intereſt; and as if he had come back for no other *End*, but to ſerve the Papiſts, made an Order of Council to prohibit Pulling down their *Houſes*, and *deſpoiling* them of their *Goods*, by the *Tumultuous Rabble*; which, tho' it was Good, and Commendable in it ſelf, yet was *needleſs* in reſpect of the late *King*, becauſe the *Committee* of *Lords* had, by a Publick *Order*, taken Care in that Matter * before his Return to *London*. To this *Order* in favour of the *Papiſts*, he added another, in Diſcharging Dr. *Leighton*, a Popiſh Biſhop, out of *Newgate*. So that inſtead of *Reforming Abuſes* at his Return, by Shipping off *Prieſts* and *Jeſuits*, Purging his *Council*, Diſclaiming his *Arbitrary* and *Diſpencing* Power, Pulling down *Popiſh* Meeting-places, *Diſarming* Papiſts, and *Encouraging* Proteſtants, which under his *preſent* Circumſtances, might have been, in *Juſtice*, and *Reaſon*, expected from him; we found nothing but an *Invincible* Reſolution to perſevere in his former *Illegal* Courſes, and make the Nation know, that as ſoon as he had

* Decemb. 14.

had *Power*, all things ſhould run in the ſame *Popiſh*, *Arbitrary* Channel as he left them in; and that our *Chains* ſhould be made *Heavier*, by our late Strugling to ſhake them off.

A former Teſtimony of his Reſolutions to favour Papiſts, and advance their Religion upon every Smile of Providence, was conſpicuous, in ſending the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* to reſtore *Magdalen*-College to the *Proteſtants* when he heard the Prince of *Orange* was coming; but hearing a Storm had made it unlikely for His Highneſs to come that Winter, the late King immediately recall'd the Biſhop, and continu'd the *Papiſts* in Poſſeſſion of the *College*, till the Certainty of the *Prince*'s being Landed, return'd the Biſhop, to compleat that Work; which never would have been done, if *Neceſſity* had not compell'd the late *King* to do it then, in hopes to perſuade the Nation he would change his Meaſures.

Now almoſt all the *Garriſons*, *Forts*, and Places of *Strength*, in *England* were put into the Prince's

Hands; the Generality of the *Nobility* and *Gentry*, and *City* of *London*, had ſent the Prince their *Submiſſion*, put themſelves under his *Conduct*, and invited him forthwith to come to *London*, and take upon him the Care of the *City* and *Kingdom*: Which being known by the late *King*, he alſo Invited the *Prince* of *Orange to come to* St. James's, *and bring with him what Numler of Troops he pleaſed.*

The *Prince* of *Orange* communicated the late *King*'s Letter to the *Peers* then at *Windſor*, who concluded, that the *Shortneſs* of the Time could admit no better *Expedient*, than that the late *King* might be deſir'd to remove to ſome Place within a reaſonable Diſtance from *London*. *Ham* was pitch'd upon as *moſt* convenient; and Notice was ſent of it to the late *King*, by three *Noble Peers*, accordingly. But the *Lords* at *Windſor* hearing that *Whitehall* was again *crouded* with *Iriſh-men*, *Prieſts*, *Jeſuits*, and *Papiſts*, did not think it Reaſonable the *Prince* of *Orange* ſhould accept the late King's *Invitation*, and venture his *Perſon* near a Place

Place *haunted* with ſuch *Bloody-minded* and *Profligate* Wretches, till the *Prince*'s own *Guards* had taken Poſſeſſion of the *Poſts* about *Whitehall*, to prevent that Danger.

Removing and placing the *Guards*, made it late before the *Lords* could deliver the Meſſage they brought from *Windſor*, viz. *That the late King would Remove to* Ham: Which, at his own Deſire, and I ſuppoſe to facilitate his Purpoſe of going into *France*, (tho' that was a Secret unknown to others,) was chang'd to *Rocheſter*. There the late King continu'd a while; but reſolving to be *Nothing*, unleſs he might be *Abſolute*; like Children that have loſt their Favourite *Play-thing*, throw away all the reſt in a Fit of Pettiſhneſs; ſo he went into *France*, left *England* very abruptly, and the *Convention* took that Opportunity of parting with him *Fairly*.

Thus *James* the Second *Abdicating* the Government by other *Previous* Actions, as well as his Flight, yielded his vacant Throne to the *Pr.* of *Orange*; and if His Highneſs had *Aſcended* it without any other *Cere-*

mony,

mony, as ſome *Kings* of this Nation have done *before* him on the like Occaſion, none could have blam'd him for making uſe of the Advantage his *Sword* had gain'd him; But as he came to Redreſs the *Grievances* of the Nation, by *Calling a Free Parliament*, ſo he would abide by their *Determination* in what concern'd his own Perſon, and not by any *Raſh* or *Precipitate* Action, ſeem to croſs the *End* of his Coming, which was to have all Things *ſettl'd* according to *Law*; and therefore he left that, and all other our Affairs, to be ſettl'd by the approaching *Parliament*.

In the mean time, the *Prince* Advis'd with the *Lords*, how to purſue the *Ends* of his *Declaration* in Calling a *Free Parliament*, for the *Preſervation* of the *Proteſtant Religion*, Reſtoring the *Rights* and *Liberties* of the Kingdom, and Settling them ſo firmly, that they might not lie in *danger* of being again *Subverted*.

To Anſwer this Great End, in Setling the Nation by a *Parliamentary* Proceeding, the Lords *Spiritual* and *Temporal* Aſſembl'd in their

Houſe

House at * *Westminster*; and being agreed on the Particulars, *Humbly desire* † *His Highness the Prince of* Orange *to take upon him the Administration of Publick Affairs, both Civil, and Military, and the Disposal of the Publick Revenue, for the Preservation of the Religion, Laws, Liberties and Properties, and the Peace of the Nation: And that His Highness would take into his particular Care the present Condition of* Ireland; *and endeavour, by the most speedy and effectual Means, to prevent the Dangers threatning that Kingdom. All which their Lordships requested His Highness to undertake, and exercise, till the Meeting of the intended Convention on the* 22th *of* January *ensuing; and presented it to His Highness* (with their Proposals about Calling a *Parliament*) at *St. James's, December* the 25th, 1688. To which His Highness was pleased to return this Answer to the Peers, assembl'd at the same place on *December* the 28th following.

* *Decemb.* 22

† *Decemb.* 25.

My

My LORDS,

I Have consider'd of your Advice; and, as far as I am able, I will endeavour to secure the Peace of the Nation, until the Meeting of the Convention in January *next; for the Meeting whereof I will forthwith issue out Letters according to your Desire. I will also take care to apply the Publick Revenue to the most proper Uses that the present Affairs require; and likewise endeavour to put* Ireland *into such a Condition, that the Protestant Religion may be maintain'd in that Kingdom: And I assure you, that as I came hither for the Preservation of the Protestant Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom, so I shall always be ready to expose my self to any Hazard, for the Defence of the same.*

His Highness's Letters being dispers'd, the Election of Members for the *Convention* was carry'd on with all the *Expedition* and *Freedom* imaginable, and the Temper of the *Nation* fully discover'd in the Choice they made. The 22th of *January*, 1688.

both

both Houſes met again; and having choſen their *Speakers*, the following Letter from His Highneſs the *Prince* of *Orange* was Read in both Houſes.

My LORDS,

I Have endeavour'd, to the utmoſt of my Power, to perform what was deſir'd from me, in order to the publick Peace, and Safety; and I do not know that any thing hath been omitted, which might have tended to the Preſervation of them, ſince the Adminiſtration of Affairs was put into my Hands. It now lies upon you to lay the Foundations of a firm Security for your Religion, your Laws, and your Liberties.

I do not doubt, but that by ſuch a full and free Repreſentative of the Nation as is now met, the Ends of my Declaration will be attain'd: And ſince it hath pleas'd God hitherto to bleſs my good Intentions with ſo great Succeſs, I truſt in him, that he will compleat his own Work, by ſending a Spirit of Peace and Union to influence your Counſels, that no Interruption may be given to a happy and laſting Settlement.

The

The dangerous Condition of the Proteſtants in Ireland *require a large and ſpeedy Succour: And the preſent State of Things Abroad oblige me to tell you, that next to the Danger of Unſeaſonable Diviſions amongſt your ſelves, nothing can be ſo fatal as too great Delay in your Conſultations. The* States, *by whom I have been enabl'd to reſcue this* Nation, *may ſuddenly feel the ill Effects of it, both by being too long depriv'd of the Service of their Troops which are now here, and of your Early Aſſiſtance againſt a powerful Enemy, who hath Declar'd a War againſt them. And as* England *is, by Treaty, already engag'd to help them upon ſuch Exigencies, ſo I am confident that their Chearful Concurrence to preſerve this Kingdom, with ſo much Hazard to themſelves, will meet with all the Returns of Friendſhip and Aſſiſtance which may be expected from you, as Proteſtants, and* Engliſh-men, *when-ever their Condition ſhall require it.*

Given at *St. James's*, the 22th of *January*, 1688.

Will. H. *P. d'* Orange.

The

The *Two Houſes*, under a deep Senſe of their *Dangers*, and *Deliverance*, in the firſt place, by mutual Conſent, expreſs'd their Thankfulneſs to *God*, by appointing a Day of *Publick Thankſgiving* throughout the Kingdom; and to *His Highneſs*, as the *Glorious Inſtrument* of the *Great Deliverance* of this Kingdom from *Popery* and *Arbitrary* Power, in the following *Addreſs*, which was preſented to the Prince of *Orange*, the 22th of *January*, 1688. in theſe Words:

Die Martis, 22 *Jan.* 1698.

The Addreſs of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, Aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, in this preſent Convention, to His Highneſs the Prince of *Orange*.

WE the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, Aſſembl'd at Weſtminſter, *being highly ſenſible*

ſenſible of the great Deliverance of this Kingdom, from Popery, and Arbitrary Power; and that our Preſervation is, next under God, owing to your Highneſs, do return our moſt humble Thanks and Acknowledgments to your Highneſs, as the Glorious Inſtrument of ſo great a Bleſſing.

We do further acknowledge the great Care your Highneſs has been pleas'd to take in the Adminiſtration of the Publick Affairs of the Kingdom, to this time: And we do moſt humbly deſire your Highneſs, that you will take upon you the Adminiſtration of Publick Affairs, both Civil and Military, and the Diſpoſal of the Publick Revenue, for the Preſervation of our Religion, Rights, Laws, Liberties and Properties, and of the Peace of the Nation. And that your Highneſs will take into your particular Care the preſent State of Ireland, *and endeavour, by the moſt ſpeedy and effectual Means, to prevent the Dangers that threaten that Kingdom. All which we make our Requeſt to your Highneſs to undertake and Exerciſe, till further Application ſhall be made by us, which ſhall be expedited with all convenient Speed: And we*

ſhall

ſhall alſo uſe our utmoſt Endeavaurs to give Diſpatch to the Matters recommended to us by your Highneſs's Letter.

To which *Addreſs*, preſented by both Houſes at *St. James's*, *His Highneſs* the *Prince* of *Orange* made this Reply the ſame Day.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I Am glad that what I have done, has pleas'd you: And ſince you deſire me to continue the Adminiſtration of Affairs, I am willing to accept it. I muſt recommend to you the Conſideration of Affairs Abroad, which makes it fit for you to expedite your Buſineſs; not only for making a Settlement at home, upon a good Foundation; but for the Safety of all Europe.

The Lords having declar'd by a Vote of that Houſe, *That Popery was Inconſiſtent with the Government of* England, the Commons, upon the 28th of *January*, paſſed the following Vote, *viz.*

Reſolved,

THat King James *the Second having endeavour'd to Subvert the Conſtitution of this Kingdom, by breaking the Original Contract between King and People; and by the Advice of Jeſuits, and other Wicked Perſons, having withdrawn himſelf out of this Kingdom, hath Abdicated the Government, and that the Throne is thereby Vacant.*

This Vote occaſion'd ſeveral Conferences between the two Houſes of Lords and Commons, in the *Painted Chamber* at *Weſtminſter*; (the Subſtance whereof, as they are tranſmitted * to us, will be occaſionally produc'd in the Sequel.) But on the 7th of *February*, the *Lords* ſending a Meſſage to the *Commons*, that they had *Agreed* to the *Vote* ſent them up on the 28th of *January* laſt, without any Alterations, on the 12th of *February* following both Houſes *Unanimouſly* Agreed to Declare as followeth.

* *The Debate at large between the Houſe of Lords and Houſe of Commons.*

The

The Declaration of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, Assembled at *Westminster*.

WHereas *the late King* James *the Second, by the Assistance of divers Evil Counsellors, Judges and Ministers, employ'd by him, did endeavour to Subject and Extirpate the Protestant Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom*;

By Assuming and Exercising a Power of Dispencing with, and Suspending of Laws, and the Execution of Laws, without Consent of Parliament.

By Committing and Persecuting divers Worthy Prelates, for humbly Petitioning to be excus'd from Concurring to the said Assumed Power.

By Issuing, and Causing to be Executed, a Commission under the Broad Seal, for Erecting a Court, call'd The Court of Commission for Ecclesiastical Affairs.

By Levying Money for and to the Use of the Crown by Pretence of Prerogative, for other Time, and in other

Manner, than the ſame was Granted by Parliament.

By Raiſing and Keeping a Standing Army within the Kingdom in Time of Peace, without Conſent of Parliament; and Quartering of Soldiers contrary to Law.

By Cauſing ſeveral good Subjects, being Proteſtants, to be Diſ-arm'd, at the ſame time when Papiſts were both Arm'd and Employ'd contrary to Law.

By Violating the Freedom of Elections of Members to Serve in Parliament.

By Proſecutions in the Court of King's Bench, *for Matters and Cauſes Cognizable only in Parliament, and by divers other Arbitrary and Illegal Courſes.*

And whereas of late Years, Partial, Corrupt and Unqualify'd Perſons have been Return'd, and Serv'd on Juries, in Trials; and particularly, divers Jurors Serv'd in Trials for High Treaſon, which were not Free-holders.

And Exceſſive Bail had been Required of Perſons Committed in Criminal Cauſes, to Elude the Benefit of the Laws made for the Liberty of the Subject.

And

And Exceſſive Fines have been Impos'd.

And Illegal and Cruel Puniſhments Inflicted,

And ſeveral Grants and Promiſes made of Fines and Forfeitures, before any Conviction, or Judgment againſt the the Perſons upon whom the ſame were to be Levy'd.

All which are utterly and directly contrary to the known Laws and Statutes, and Freedom of this Realm.

And whereas the late King James *the Second having Abdicated the Government, and the Throne being thereby Vacant;*

His Highneſs the Prince of Orange *(whom it hath pleas'd Almighty God to make the Glorious Inſtrument of Delivering this Kingdom from Popery and Arbitrary Power) did (by the Advice of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and divers Principal Perſons of the Commons) cauſe Letters to be written to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, being Proteſtants; and other Letters to the ſeveral Counties, Cities, Univerſities, Boroughs and Cinque-Ports, for the Chooſing ſuch Perſons to repreſent them, as were of Right to be ſent to Parliament,*

to Meet, and Sit at Westminster, *upon the 22th Day of* January, 1688. *in order to such an Establishment, as that their Religion, Laws and Liberties might not again be in danger of being Subverted: Upon which Letters, Elections have been made.*

And thereupon, the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, pursuant to their respective Letters, and Elections, being now Assembl'd in a Full and Free Representative of this Nation, taking into their most Serious Consideration the best Means for attaining the Ends aforesaid, do in the first place, (as their Ancestors, in like Cases, have formerly done,) for the Vindicating and Asserting their Antient Rights and Liberties, Declare,

That the Pretended Power of Suspending of Laws, or the Execution of Laws, by Regal Authority, without Consent of Parliament, is Illegal.

That the Pretended Power of Dispencing with Laws, or the Exercise of Laws, by Regal Authority, as has been Assum'd and Practis'd of late, is Illegal.

That the Commission for Erecting the late Court of Commissioners for Eccle-

siastical

ſiaſtical Cauſes, and all other Commiſſions and Courts of the like nature, are Illegal, and Pernicious.

That Levying of Money to or for the Uſe of the Crown, by Pretence of Prerogative, without Grant of Parliament, for a longer Time, or in other Manner, than the ſame is or ſhall be Granted, is Illegal.

That it is the Right of the Subject to Petition the King; and all Commitments and Proſecutions for ſuch Petitioning, is Illegal.

That the Raiſing or Keeping a Standing Army within the Kingdom in Time of Peace, unleſs it be by Conſent of Parliament, is againſt Law.

That the Subjects, being Proteſtants, may have Arms for their Defence, ſuitable to their Condition, and as Allow'd by Law.

That the Election of Members of Parliament ought to be Free.

That the Freedom of Speech, and Debates or Proceedings in Parliament, ought not to be Impeach'd or Queſtion'd in any Court, or Place, out of Parliament.

That Exceſſive Bail ought not to be Requir'd, nor Exceſſive Fines Impos'd,

nor Cruel and Unuſual Puniſhments Inflicted.

That Jurors ought to be duly Impannell'd, and Return'd; and Jurors which Paſs upon Men in Trials for High Treaſon, ought to be Free-Holders.

That all Grants, and Promiſes of Fines, and Forfeitures, of particular Perſons, before Conviction, are Illegal, and Void.

That for Redreſs of all Grievances, and for the Amending, Strengthening and Preſerving of the Laws, Parliaments ought to be held frequently.

And they do Claim, Demand, and Inſiſt upon all, and ſingular the Premiſſes, as their Undoubted Rights and Liberties; and that no Declarations, Judgments, Doings, or Proceedings, to the Prejudice of the People in any of the ſaid Premiſſes, ought in any wiſe to be drawn hereafter into Conſequence, or Example.

To which Demand of their Rights they are particularly Encourag'd by the Declaration of His Highneſs the Prince of Orange, *as being the only Means for Obtaining a full Redreſs and Remedy therein.*

Having

Having therefore an Entire Confidence that His ſaid Highneſs the Prince of Orange *will perfect the Deliverance ſo far advanc'd by him, and will ſtill preſerve them from the Violation of their Rights, which they have here Aſſerted, and from all other Attempts upon their Religion, Rights and Liberties;*

The ſaid Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, Aſſembl'd at Weſtminſter, *do Reſolve,*

That William *and* Mary, *Prince and Princeſs of* Orange, *be, and be Declar'd King and Queen of* England, France *and* Ireland, *and the Dominions thereunto belonging; to Hold the Crown and Royal Dignity of the ſaid Kingdoms, and Dominions, to them the ſaid Prince and Princeſs, during their Lives, and the Life of the Survivor of them; And that the Sole and Full Exerciſe of the Regal Power be only in, and Executed by the ſaid Prince of* Orange, *in the Names of the ſaid Prince and Princeſs, during their Joint Lives: And after their Deceaſes, the ſaid Crown and Royal Dignity of the ſaid Kingdoms, and Dominions, to be to the Heirs of the Body of the ſaid Princeſs;*

and

and for Default of such Issue, to the Princess Anne *of* Denmark, *and the Heirs of her Body; and for Default of such Issue, to the Heirs of the Body of the said Prince of* Orange.

And the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, do Pray the said Prince and Princess of Orange *to Accept the same accordingly.*

This Offer being made in *due* Form, and Accepted by the *Prince* and *Princess* of *Orange*, now *our Gracious King* William, *and the late Queen* Mary *of Blessed Memory*, on the 13th Day of *February*, 1688. the *Lords* and *Commons* order'd the following *Proclamation* to be Publish'd, and Made.

WHereas it hath pleas'd *Almighty God, in his great Mercy to this Kingdom, to vouchsafe us a Miraculous Deliverance from Popery and Arbitrary Power; and that our Preservation is due, next under God, to the Resolution and Conduct of His Highness the Prince of* Orange, *whom God hath chosen to be the Glorious Instrument of such an Inestimable Happiness to us,*

and

and our Poſterity; and being highly ſenſible, and fully perſuaded of the Great and Eminent Vertues of Her Highneſs the Princeſs of Orange, *whoſe Zeal for the Proteſtant Religion will, no doubt, bring a Bleſſing along with her, upon this Nation. And whereas the Lords and Commons now Aſſembled at* Weſtminſter, *have made a Declaration, and preſented the ſame to the ſaid Prince and Princeſs of* Orange, *and therein deſir'd them to accept the Crown; who have accepted the ſame accordingly: We therefore the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, together with the Lord Mayor and Citizens of* London, *and others of the Commons of this Realm, do with full Conſent, Publiſh and Proclaim, according to the ſaid Declaration,* William *and* Mary, *Prince and Princeſs of* Orange, *to be King and Queen of* England, France *and* Ireland, *with all the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging; who are accordingly ſo to be Own'd, Deem'd and Taken by all the People of the aforeſaid Realms and Dominions; who are from henceforward, bound to acknowledge and pay unto them all Faith, and True Allegiance; Beſeeching God, by whom*

whom Kings Reign, to Bleſs King William *and Queen* Mary *with Long and Happy Years to Reign over us.*

God ſave King *WILLIAM* and Queen *MARY.*

Joh. Brown, *Cler. Parl.*

Theſe Ample and Affectionate Demonſtrations of the Nation's Gratitude were as *Kindly* receiv'd by the *King* and *Queen*, as they were *Dutifully* offer'd by their *Subjects*: And thus the *King* was pleas'd to expreſs himſelf upon the Notice of it, to the *Lords* and *Commons.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THis is certainly the greateſt Proof of the Truſt you have in Us, that can be given, which is the Thing that makes Us value it the more; and We thankfully accept what you have offer'd. And as I had no other Intentious in my coming hither, than to preſerve your Religion, Laws and Liberties, ſo you may be ſure that I ſhall endeavour to

ſupport

ſupport them, and ſhall be willing to do any thing that ſhall be for the Good of the Kingdom, and to do all that is in My Power to advance the Welfare and Glory of the Nation.

And now, with what *Inexpreſſible* Joy, and *Entire* Satisfaction, the whole Nation entertain'd *Their Majeſties* Acceſſion to the *Throne*; and ſeeing thoſe Illuſtrious *Princes* that had been hitherto their Hopes, and Deſires, now become their *Glory*, and *Crown* of Rejoicing, is eaſier to imagin, than delineate; and therefore I muſt content the Reader, by only ſaying, that *nothing* was omitted, that might expreſs a *True* and *Unfeigned* Joy, upon that Extraordinary Occaſion.

Thus have I ſhew'd how by a continual Series of *Illegal* Actions, the late *King* proceeded to Abdicate and Renounce the Government of theſe Kingdoms, till he compleated it by leaving the Realm: And alſo, what an Inevitable *Neceſſity* there was at that Conjuncture, and as Affairs then ſtood, to ſupply the Vacancy

of

of the Throne by the Inauguration of that *Meritorious Prince* that now enjoys it. And tho' there needs no other *Reaſons* to ſatisfie the Scrupulous, and command a quiet *Submiſſion*, than that it was done purely for the *Welfare* of the Nation, and was ſettl'd by *Lawful Authority*; yet becauſe the Enemies of our *Peace* and *Settlement* take too great a Liberty to Aſperſe theſe Proceedings, and Amuſe the *Unthinking* and *Unſteady* People with *contrary* Opinions, I hope 'twill be pardonable to Adminiſter an *Antidote* againſt the Infection of Virulent *Tongues*, and *Seditious* Practices, and Reconcile thoſe to *Reaſon*, and their *Duty*, that have been, or ſtill do lie in danger of being perverted by the *Sophiſtry* of a *Turbulent Faction*. And this I ſhall endeavour, by ſhewing, that the late King,

1. Did Voluntarily *Abdicate* the Government.

2. That the Proceedings of the Convention of the Eſtates were *Juſt*, and *Neceſſary*. That,

3. King *William*'s Title to the Crown is *Indiſputable*. And,

4. The

4. The *Obedience* of his Subjects, their *Indiſpenſible* Duty.

The late *King* was under an Obligation, by virtue of the *Original Contract* between the King and People, (*which Compact is Imbody'd in our Conſtitution, Imply'd in our Laws, and Runs through all our Hiſtories,*) his Coronation-Oath, and the Truſt repos'd in him by his People, to govern according to the Tenour of our Laws, as has been already largely prov'd: But on the contrary, he broke *all* the Fundamental *Laws*, fell foul upon the very *Eſſence* of the Conſtitution it ſelf, and gave *no* Quarter to any thing that oppos'd his *Arbitrary Uſurpation*. And was not this a publick *Declaration* that he would not be kept within the Bounds of Law, nor hold his *Kingly Office* upon thoſe Terms?

The *Original Contract* made him a *Legal* King; but if he might not act the part of a *Tyrant*, he would be nothing at all. He was oblig'd by Law to protect and defend the *Proteſtant Religion*; but by his unfortunate Perſuaſion in *Religion*, and his im-

moderate Affectation of Arbitrary Power, he thought himself concerned to *Suspend* the Laws that were the *Barriers* to secure it, and to treat it as the *Northern Heresie*.

What was his Actual Suspending and Annulling Laws, without Consent of *Parliament*, but a necessary Implication in Common Sense, as well as Legal Acceptation, that he Renounc'd his *Kingly Office*? As for his *Departure* out of the Kingdom, tho' I have already prov'd it was a *Plot* of his own laying, in hopes to Involve the Nation in greater Confusions than his own Conduct had already reduc'd it to; yet in this Case 'tis not material whether it was *Voluntary*, or *Involuntary*, since his Withdrawing himself was but a Continuation of his *former Actings*, wherein he declar'd he *would not* govern by those Laws that made him King of *England*, and was an express *Renunciation* of his *Regal* Authority.

To say that *Abdication* implies a Formal Renunciation by *Deed*, is to mistake the Case; for in the *Common Law* of *England*, and in the *Civil Law*,

Law, and in Common Acceptation, there are *Expreſs Acts of Renunciation, that are not by Deeds.* * The Government and Magiſtracy are under a *Truſt*; and Acting contrary to that *Truſt*, is a *Renunciation* of that *Truſt*, tho' it be not a *Renouncing* by a Formal *Deed*; for it is a plain Declaration by *Act* and *Deed*, tho' not in *Writing*, that he who hath the *Truſt*, and acting contrary, is a *Diſclaimer* of the *Truſt*; eſpecially if the *Actings* be ſuch as are *Inconſiſtent* with, and *Subverſive* of this *Truſt*: For how can a Man, in *Reaſon* or *Senſe*, expreſs a greater *Renunciation* of a *Truſt*, than by the *conſtant* Declarations of his *Actions* to be quite contrary to that *Truſt*; and therefore muſt be conſtru'd an *Abdication* and *Formal Reſignation* of it.

* *Debate between Lords and Commons*, pag. 35, 36.

That a *King* may Renounce his *Kingſhip*, may be made out by *Law*, and *Fact*, as well as any other *Renunciation*: And that it may, and hath been, will be no Difficulty to to make out, by *Inſtances* in all Countries not only where the *Crown* is, or was *Elective*; but alſo where it was *Hereditary*, and *Succeſſive*.

* *Debate aforesaid*, p. 76.

* If a King will *Resign*, or *Renounce*, he may do so; as particularly, *Charles* the First did: 'Tis an Act of the *Will*, and consequently in his Power to do as he thinks fit: And the late King gave manifest *Declarations* of his Resolutions to do it in several *Instances*, as has been particularly shew'd already. *Grotius*, and all other Authors that treat of this Matter, and the Nature of it, do agree, *That if there be any Word or Action that does sufficiently manifest the Intention of the Mind, and Will, to part with his Office; that will amount to an Abdication, or Renouncing.*

† Idem, p. 77, 78.

Now had King *James* the Second come into † an *Assembly* of *Lords and Commons in Parliament*, and expressed himself in Writing, or Words, to this purpose; "I was born an "*Heir* to the *Crown* of *England*, "which is a Government *limited* by "Laws, made in full Parliament, "by King, Nobles, and Commonalty; and upon the *Death* of my "last *Predecessor* I am in Possession "of the *Throne*; and, now I find I "cannot *make* Laws without the "Consent of the *Lords*, and Repre-

"sen-

" ſentatives of the *Commons* in Par-
" liament: I cannot *ſuſpend* Laws
" that have been ſo made, without
" the Conſent of my People. This,
" indeed, is the Title of *Kingſhip* I
" hold by *Original Contract*, and the
" Fundamental *Conſtitution* of the
" Government; and my Succeſſion
" to, and Poſſeſſion of the Crown,
" on theſe Terms, is part of that
" *Contract*. This part of the Con-
" tract I am *Weary* of, I do *Renounce*
" it, I will *not* be oblig'd to obſerve
" it; I will *not* execute the Laws
" that have been made, nor ſuffer
" *others* to be made, as my People
" ſhall deſire, for their Security in
" Religion, Liberty and Property;
" which are the two *main* Parts of
" the *Kingly Office* in this Nation."
I ſay, ſuppoſe he had ſo expreſs'd himſelf, doubtleſs this had been a plain *Renouncing* of that *Legal* Regular *Title* which came to him by *Deſcent*: If then he, by particular *Acts*, ſuch as are enumerated in the Vote of the *Convention*, of the 27th of *January*, he has declar'd as much, or more than theſe Words can amount to, then he has thereby *Declar'd his Will*

to Renounce the Government: He has by the *Acts* before-mention'd, manifeſtly declar'd that he *will not* govern according to the *Laws* made; nay, he *cannot* do ſo, for he is under a ſtrict Obligation, (yea, the ſtricteſt,) and *Superiour* to that of the *Original Compact* between King and People, to Act *contrary* to the Laws, or to *Suſpend* them. This did amount to *a manifeſt Declaration of his Will, that he would no longer retain the Exerciſe of his Kingly Power, as it was Limited, and Reſtrain'd*; and ſufficiently declar'd his *Renouncing* the very Office. And his *Actings* declar'd, *quo Animo*, that he went away becauſe he could no longer purſue, nor accompliſh what he deſign'd, and was ſo ſtrongly oblig'd to, that the Splendour of three Crowns could never divert him from it.

It was an *Abdication* in the *higheſt* Inſtances: Not a particular Law was violated; but he fell upon the *whole* Conſtitution, in the very Foundation of the *Legiſlature*. Not only particular Perſons were *injur'd*; but the whole *Frame* of the Kingdom, the *Proteſtant Religion*, and our *Laws* and

and *Liberties* were all in danger of being Subverted. And which aggravates the Circumſtances, the late *King* himſelf, who had the Adminiſtration *Intruſted* to him, was the *Author*, and *Agent* in it: And when he cold *no longer* afflict us himſelf, went away with Deſign to obtain *Foreign Forces*, to compel our Submiſſion to his *Arbitrary Power*. Now becauſe the late *King* had thus Violated the *Conſtitution*, by which the *Law* ſtood as the Rule both of the *King*'s Government, and the *People*'s Obedience, therefore it was judg'd an *Abdication* to all Intents and Purpoſes, and that by his *Abdication* the Throne became *Vacant*.

Nothing leſs than Things grown to ſuch *Extremities* could warrant theſe Proceedings; for, God forbid every *Violation* of the Law, or *Deviation* from it, ſhould be accounted an *Abdication* of the Government: The Thoughts of ſuch a Severity upon * *Crown'd Heads*, is abhorr'd by all Good Men. For when a King breaks the Laws in ſome few particular *Inſtances*, it is ſufficient to take an Account of it from thoſe *Ill Mi-*

* *Debate between the Lords and Commons*, pag. 86.

niſters that were Inſtrumental in it; Why ſuch a thing was done, *contrary* to Law? Why ſuch a *Law* was not put in *Execution* by them, whoſe *Duty* it was to ſee it done?

In Ordinary Caſes of *Breaking* the Laws, you have Remedy in *Ordinary* Courts of Juſtice; and in *Extraordinary* Caſes, in the Extraordinary Court of *Parliamentary* Proceedings: But in our Caſe, where we were left without Redreſs, the *Malefactor* being both a *Party*, and *Judge* of his own Breaches of Law, made Extream Remedies *abſolutely neceſſary*, and has been always practis'd upon the like Emergencies. For,

The *Great Council*, or *Aſſembly of the Eſtates of this Kingdom*, from the firſt Inſtitution of the Government, had an *Inherent* Right to Aſſemble themſelves in all Caſes of Neceſſity; ſuch as *Abdications*, *Depoſitions*, *Diſputable Titles* to the Crown, Setling the Succeſſions, and to ſupply the Vacancy of the Throne, as the Example of former Times, and their own Prudence ſhould direct them. And, truly, it would be very abſurd

to

to imagin that the *Legiſlative* Power was ſo ſtreighten'd, that it had no *Right* to provide againſt *Unforeſeen* Accidents that might happen; or that where the *Old* Laws ſeem'd oppoſite to the publick Good, or were wholly *ſilent*, as not *foreſeeing* every extraordinary Event, they could not ſupply that *Defect*, by making * *New Ones* that might reach the preſent Circumſtances of Affairs, or *Extend* and *Explain* the *Old* ones, as the Neceſſity of the State requir'd.

* Quæ de novo emerguat novo indigent auxilio.

Laws *themſelves*, in time, may grow *pernitious*; and tho' well intended at their *firſt* Promulgation, as Things might after *happen*, would be dangerous to be Retain'd: Therefore on all *ſuch* Occaſions, the *Aſſembly of Eſtates* have an Indubitable *Right* to wave the *Letter* of the Law, and *explain* them, or make *New ones*, according to Equity; that is, according to what the preccdent *Legiſlators* would have done, if they had *Foreſeen* what then had come to paſs.

Private Perſons are oblig'd to obſerve the *Letter* of the Law; but *Publick Eſtates* are not under ſuch a

Confinement, but for the *Safety* of the Nation, *muſt reſpect the Intention of the Law*; becauſe the *Letter* of the Law, by Length of Time, or a General Corruption of *Manners*, may ſeem to thwart the Common Intereſt; but *the Intention of the Law always reſpects the publick Good, and is never againſt it.* This is done every Day in Courts of *Equity*, and ought never to be omitted for the *Preſervation* of a Kingdom, where Laws *Unrepeal'd*, and whoſe Conſequences were not dreamt of, ſeem to make *Tyranny* Lawful. And therefore the *Convention* of Eſtates, in Shutting the *Door* againſt *James* the Second, and making it faſt after him by an *Act of State*, who had *firſt* excluded himſelf, and ſetling the Government on the *Foot* it now ſtands, did no more than Aſſert their own *Right*, and prevent the Miſchiefs that have attended the *Miſ-conſtruction* of the Intention of ſome *Laws* in Force.

Now that the *Eſtates* of the Kingdom have ſuch a *Right*, is Inconteſtible in the Opinion of our Adverſaries; yet they deny that the *Con-*

vention

vention had ſuch a Power, becauſe they were not Conven'd by the late *King's Authority*. A frivolous Objection, and returns upon the Head of that deluded Faction. For

This *Defect*, if it were one, was not the *Nation's* Fault, but lies wholly upon the late *King*: He was Sought to, Addreſs'd and Petitioned to Call a *Parliament*: It was the great Importance of the *Prince's Declaration*: He often promis'd it, and by *Proclamation* made a *Feint* of keeping his Word, yet at laſt burnt the *Writs*, and declar'd poſitively he would not do it.

Could the Nation *compel* him to do what he *would* not? Muſt the Kingdom be Ruin'd for want of a *Formality* that was not in their Power to compaſs? Muſt a Glorious Opportunity of *Settling* the Kingdom be loſt for want of a *Punctilio*, that yet was anſwer'd in the Intent of it? Muſt the Nation be be blam'd for *helping* themſelves, when the late King refus'd it? No, this would be very looſe Reaſoning; and the Thread is of too courſe a Spinning, to paſs upon the Thinking

ing Part of Mankind. Had they Objected againſt the *Qualification* of the Members, the Want of *Freedom* in their Election, or ſhew'd any *Unreaſonableneſs* in the Action, they had ſaid ſomething worthy of Anſwer; but ſince they could not, I ſhall go on, and prove it *Juſt*, *Neceſſary*, and Agreeable to the Practice of All *Nations*.

The Laws of *God*, *Nature* and *Nations* juſtifie the Depoſing of a Prince whoſe Arbitrary Government is not only *Inconſiſtent* with, but *Deſtructive* to the Kingdom over which he Preſides. To name no other Inſtances in the *Old Teſtament*, *Reboboam* and *Jeroboam* are Examples of Divine Vengeance for their *Tyranny*, and their Stories are Argumentative. The *Jews* aſſerted the Lawfulneſs of Reſiſting and Dethroning their *Kings* in many Caſes, * eſpecially in their Wars with *Antiochus Epiphanes*; and the † *Chriſtians* follow'd thoſe Examples, without thinking their Religion oblig'd them, by a *Childiſh* Submiſſion, to yield up their *Natural* and *Legal* Rights, and conſent to their own Ruin.

* Joſeph. l. 4. c. 8.

† St. Aug. libr. cont. Adem. c. 17.

How

How unreasonable would it be to imagin that a *whole* Kingdom should deprive it self of the *Right* of *Deposing* a *Tyrant*, and preserving themselves: since * *Nature* has communicated this Right to all *Rational* Creatures, together with their Being, which they can neither give away themselves, nor can be *justly* taken from them by others; as I have already prov'd in part, and shall do it beyond Contradiction in the following Pages; and therefore shall descend to shew you, that the *Deposing* the late *King* is Warranted by the Practice of other Nations, as well as our own in Former Ages.

* Principio generi animantium omni est à Natura tributum, ut se, vita, corpúsq; tueatur, declinétq; ea, quæ noscitura videantur. *Cicero de Offic.*

The Power of the *Emperor* of *Germany* is Limited in many Particulars: He cannot alter their *Fundamental* Laws, nor make the Empire Hereditary; and *the College of the Princes Electors* may Depose him for Male Administration, as they did *Lewis the Good*, in the Year 833. Which Act was always look'd upon as the *Right* of the Empire, in the Opinion of the *German Lawyers*; and

so

so is transmitted to Posterity be the best of their * *Writers*. One of the Charges against *Lewis* was, that he had broken his *Coronation-Oath*, and Rul'd by Maxims of his own, contrary the *Establish'd* Laws of the Empire. The Estates of the *Empire* also at another time *Warr'd* against the *Emperor* Henry *the Fourth* for the same Cause, and at length *Depos'd* him in a Solemn Assembly. A later Instance of the same *People* was, in Deposing *Wenceslaus*, in the Year 1400. And he that will give himself the Satisfaction of Reading the *Articles* Exhibited against him, by the *Electors* of the *Empire*, will be tempted to think that *James* the Second had transcrib'd them, as the Rules of his *Despotick* Government, they agreed so exactly with it, from the Beginning, to the fatal End of it.

* Lampadius, Diderick, Conring. Lambert. Schafnaburg, Aventin. l. 7. Annal. & Cuspin. *in Vita* Wincesl. & Carpsor. de Leg. Reg. Imperat. Germaniæ & Imperial. Capitulat.

The Monarchical Government of *Poland* being extinct at the Death of † King *Lech*, it was chang'd by the *States*, into a Government of Twelve *Palatins*; who abusing their Authority, were all *Depos'd*, and *Lesko* Elected King; and he withdrawing him-

† Cromer.

himſelf out of the Kingdom, to ſecure himſelf againſt the Fury of the *Tartars*, was for that Reaſon *Depos'd*, and a *new King* Elected. So was *Henry* the Second, Duke of *Anjou*, depos'd by the *Poles* by the Government of *Poland* for *leaving* that Kingdom, And the great States-man *Bodin* tells us, 'twas expreſly inſerted as a Condition in that *King's Coronation Oath*, when he was Elected King of *Poland*, that if he broke his *Oath*, and violated the *Laws*, the *People* of that Kingdom ſhould not be *oblig'd* to pay him *Obedience*; and theſe *two* Caſes are Parallel in *Fact* with the late King *James's*, in *Deſerting* the Kingdom of *England*.

The Fundamental Laws of *Hungary* * Reſtrain and Limit the Power of their *Kings* by a Coronation Oath, expreſly conditional; and have given ſo many Inſtances of their *Right* to *Depoſe* them * that 'twere loſt labour to Recite them, having refer'd to the Authors that Treat on that Subject.

* Bonfin. decad 4. lib. 9. C. 11.

* Chalcondil. *Hiſt.* l. 2. p. 120.

In *Spain* we find *Peter* of *Caſtile* *Depos'd* for a *Suppoſitious Birth*, and *Philip* of *Arragon* for *Incontinency*.

Indeed

Indeed the Nobility, and Commonality of that Kingdom, have formerly took such a Power, and Liberty, in Censuring the Actions, and *Deposing* their *Kings*, for slight and trivial Causes, that they are not fit to be reckon'd among the material *Instances* of other Nations, in cases of *Certain* and *extreme* Necessity.

In the ancient Kingdoms of *Denmark*, * *Sweden* and *Norway*, which are all of *Gothic* Original, the meanest people had a Voice in the *Elections* of their *Kings*; and if *mistaken* in their Choice they *Depos'd* him, and chose another; still giving *preference* to the *Royal Family*, if there were any of them qualify'd. Sometimes they wholly neglected that Method, and Elected the *Brave* and *Valiant Hero* that had signaliz'd his Kindness and Courage in the Expulsion of a *Tyrant*, and Rescuing their Privileges out of the hands of an Oppressor. And sometimes they chose a *private* Person, whose Eminent *Parts* and *Probity* had mark'd out as worthy of that *Dignity*, which himself ne're thought on. Give me leave to give you a Remarkable *In-*

* Pontanus l. 8. c. 9.

stance

ſtance in the Kingdom of *Sweden*, of the Tyranny of an Abſolute Monarch.

Chriſtern the Second King of *Denmark*, obtain'd the Crown of *Sweden* by Conqueſt; and looking upon the Ancient *Privileges* of thoſe Subjects, as *Inconſiſtent* with his Royal Dignity, quickly came to Reſolutions of *deſtroying* of the *Senators*, and Principal *Noble*-men, that he thought Enemies of his Imperial *Arbitrary* Power; and to facilitate the execution of his *barbarous* Decree, he put on a Kinder *Viſage* than he commonly wore, ſuffering no Cloud to poſſeſs his *Royal Brow*, but appear'd in *ſhew* of Reſpect and Kindneſs, that he might oblige them to *truſt*, that before ſuſpected him. Under this *Viſor* of Friendſhip and Affability, he invites the *Lords* to a magnificent Feaſt at *Stockholm*, where two days together they were *ſplendidly* treated, and the third day baſely *Murther'd*.

This ſurprizing bloody *ſtart* from a *King* to a *Tyrant* ſo terrify'd the Nation, that it put them upon freeing themſelves; and whilſt they were

were revolving various Means to Accompliſh it, a *Deliverer* appears in the Perſon of *Guſtavus Ericſon*, deſcended from the Ancient *Kings of Sweden*, and Nephew to King *Canutſon*, who ſo effectually *check'd* the Tyrant, that *Chriſtern* who had *Abdicated* the Government by his continued *Tyranny*, was ſo *Hated* by his Subjects, *Deſerted* by his Soldiers, and beaten by his Rival, that he conſummated his *Abdication* by flying out of the Kingdom, and *Guſtavus* the Generous Deliverer, by a *Convention* of the *Eſtates* * was *Elected* and *Crown'd* King of *Sweden*, which he Govern'd happily all the days of his Life.

* Peterſon *in* Chronic. Holſat l. 8.

I am ſenſible that ſome will tell me that things are now otherwiſe than I have related of *Denmark*, and that the Government there is an *Abſolute Monarchy*; to which I reply, *Let them take it for their pains.* I did not ſpeak of things as they are *now* perverted by *Fear* and *Force*; but as they were *Originally* conſtituted, and dare promiſe him that will give himſelf the pleaſure of reading *the Engliſh Hiſtory of the State*

State of that Kingdom, he will not think the *Model* ought to be transported into *England*.

Portugal, by telling *Alphonſus* the Third, that if he would not adict himſelf to the Affairs of the * Kingdom, the *Eſtates* of the Realm would *Depoſe* him, and *Elect* another *King*; and by Baniſhing their late *Monarch* for the barbarous Effect of his *Frenzy*, have fully declar'd their Opinions in that Matter.

* *Hiſtory* Portugal *in Reign* Alphons. 3. l. 6. *and Ordin.* Portugal. 17. l. 2. Sect. 3. 4. 5. 6.

When the Kings of *France* abus'd their Authority, that Nation aſſerted their *Right*; as in Depoſing *Childeric*, Father of * *Clowis*; and in the ſame manner proceeded againſt another *Childeric*, in the Eighth Century. And if we deſcend to the Race of *Charles* the Great, their Hiſtories will inform us that *Louis*, Surnam'd *The Good*, was Depos'd by a General Aſſembly of the *Eſtates* at *Thionville*; and the *Articles* on which they proceeded to his *Depoſition* are to be read in *Baronius* and *du Cheſne le Comte*. After him, the Eſtates *Depos'd Charles* the *Groſs*, and *Charles* the *Simple*; and ſtood ſo much upon their *Right* to do it, that when in

* Greg. Tower, l. 2. c. 11.

another Instance they were threatned by Pope *Adrian* the Second with Excommunication, they sent him word, *They would defend their Privileges, and their Liberties, unto Death.*

In the Second Race of their *Kings*, notwithstanding *Charles* of *Lorrain* was * Heir to *Lewis* the Fifth, and consequently ought to have enjoy'd the Crown of *France*; yet the *Estates* laid him aside, (for no other *Reason*, but because he was *suspected* to be in the *German* Interest, who were Enemies to *France*,) and gave the Crown to *Hugh Capet*.

* Guil. de Nanz. ad an. 987.

Henry the Third, that had been *Depos'd* in *Poland*, was also *Depos'd* in *France* by Advice of the *Sorbonne*, and the greatest part of the *Estates*. When *Theodore* the Second attempted to make himself Master of the *Lives* and *Estates* of his Subjects, they rose against him, *Depos'd* him, *Shav'd* him, thrust him into a *Monastery*, and plac'd his Brother *Childric* in the *Throne*. In the Time of *Charles* the *Simple* (mention'd before.) finding him unfit to encounter the *Insults* of the *Normans*, the *Estates* conferr'd

ferr'd the Soverignty on *Lewis*, and *Charlemain*; who tho' of the ſame *Blood*, had not the ſame *Right* to the Crown. And 'tis but conſulting their own * *Hiſtories*, to ſhew that that *Nation* was always in Poſſeſſion of the *Right* of Explaining, Limiting, Extending and Altering the *Succeſſion*, as often as their Circumſtances requir'd it. And truly I cannot but wonder the *French Jeſuits*, who in favour of the late King *James*, have ſo ſlovenly Rail'd againſt our † *Convention of Eſtates* for *Depoſing* him, dare beſpatter the Judgment of their Infallible Pope *Zachary*, whoſe Opinion being ask'd by the *French Lords* about the Lawfulneſs of Depoſing King *Childeric*, anſwer'd, *That the* French *were diſcharg'd of their Oath of Fidelity to* Childeric, *ſince he had not acquitted himſelf towards them as he had ſolemnly promiſed; the Nature of Conditional Contracts being ſuch, that where one Party does not perform his Covenant, the other are abſolv'd from theirs.* Which Advice being approv'd, the *Lords* and Great Men of the Kingdom *Aſſemble* at *Soiſſons*, *Depoſe Childeric*,

* *Important Maxims, publiſh'd by Mr.* Joly, *in* 1663. Can. d' Egles *Paris.*

† Pere d'Orleans Hiſt. Revol. d'Angleterre.

and Elect *Pepin* to be their King. But above all, I am amaz'd to hear the * *French Miſſionaries*, and other Writers, ſo *openly* and *ſcandalouſly* Declaim againſt *Dethroning* Kings, when the very *Monarch* that now enjoys the Crown of *France*, wears the *Crown* in Conſequence, and by *Right* of ſuch *Depoſitions*. Nay,

* Advice du Refugies, p. 60.

It would be no hard matter to *prove* that almoſt all the Governments in the *World* owe their *Settlements* to *Conventions of Eſtates*, Aſſembl'd and Authoriz'd by a Neceſſity of providing for the *Publick* Safety.

So that the *Conventional Parliament* of *England*, in Depoſing *James* the Second, made no Incroachment upon the *Rights* of *Kings*, nor Violation of the *Law* of *God*, of *Nature*, or the *Law* of *Nations*; but agreeably to all theſe *Laws*, Aſſerted their own *Rights*, in taking more Care for the Safety of a whole Kingdom, than the Pretentions of a Single Perſon who endeavour'd to deſtroy it. And in this they did but follow the Practice of former Ages in their own Country, as will appear by

by and by, in the following Examples.

God has inveſted Kings with a Power to do *Juſtice*, but not to commit *Violences*; and therefore, when they wilfully convert their Authority into a Power of *Deſtruction*, as *James* the Second did, Subjects have a Right by the Law of *Nature* to Repel Force by Force; for the Neceſſity of *Publick Safety* is a Law ſo *Sacred*, that it *Aboliſheth* all others that oppoſe it, and Juſtifies all the *Revolutions* and *Settlements* in the World that are built upon that Foundation.

It is the *Firſt* and greateſt Obligation of Mankind, to procure and promote the Welfare of the Body whereof they are Members; which if every one would think himſelf oblig'd to do, there would be a Circulation of Safety and Proſperity through the whole. * *Cicero*, *lib.* 3. expreſſeth this to the Life, in ſaying, *That we are born under a* Law, *and inſtructed by the Principles of* Nature, *that oblige us to prefer the Common Good*

* Eâq; lege notus ſis, ut ea habeas principia naturæ quibus parere, & quæ ſemper ſequi debeas ut utilitas, tua, communis utilitas ſit: viciſſiniq; communis utilitas, tua ſit.

before our own, ſo that at length the Common Good may be our own Advantage alſo. With a ſingle Reſpect to this Common and Mutual Good, the Light of *Reaſon* ſhining in Wiſer *Heathens*, (which yet ſhines brighter in *Chriſtians* exalted by *Revelation*,) dictated the Neceſſity of Government, as an Inſtrument without which it could not poſſibly be attain'd. *Fair, Uſeful, Juſt* and *Equal Rules* of Converſation were by Common Conſent agreed on; and ſome *One*, or *More* Perſons, Renown'd for *Wiſdom, Probity* and *Courage*, were Intruſted, and Impower'd to Inforce, as Occaſion ſhould require, the Community to obſerve them: Which Ruler was bound by Mutual *Compact* to govern by the Rules agreed on, and under that Condition the People gave their Oaths to obey him. So that thoſe People that think themſelves bound by their Oaths to an Abſolute Obedience to their Prince, without Reſerve, forget that the Rulers Office is merely *Relative* to their *People's* Welfare; and they alſo forget their firſt Obligation, to ſeek the Good of the Community.

If

If a Ruler act contrary to his Truſt, by ſetting aſide the Laws of the Conſtitution made and agreed on by *Prince* and *People*, as neceſſary for the Conſervation of every Individual Perſon; and by excerciſing an *Arbitrary Power* of his *Own* Erecting, evidently ſeeks the *Ruin* of that Body he ought to *preſerve*, the Neceſſary Defence of themſelves is no Offence againſt the Nature of Government, (which was Originally Inſtituted for the Preſervation, and not for the Deſtruction of the Society,) and therefore cannot be looked upon as Criminal.

The Judgment of the great *Melancton* concerning Government, in his *Expoſition on the Fifth Commandment*, will clear this Point: *In regard* (ſaith he) *ſomething will go amiſs in every Society, for the Love of Peace we muſt bear with many Faults of our Princes; and ſo long as they deſign well in the main, tho' they fall into Miſtakes, we ought to bear them with Patience, and hide their Frailties as much as poſſibly we can.* But of a Tyrant he ſays, a few Lines before,

* That the Pretence of a Divine Right can neither excuse or justifie his Crimes, nor the Dignity of his Office tolerate him to exercise a Wicked and Wilful Tyranny; but when his Impieties and Injuries to his People are evident, and unsufferable, the Powers to whom God hath, in such an Extremity, committed the Sword to protect and deliver an Oppress'd Nation, may remove him from the Government, as the Romans did Caligula, Nero, and other Monsters of Cruelty, who were not only Enemies to the Commonwealth, but to all Mankind.

* Nec prætextu operis Divini excusanda aut tuenda sunt vitia, nec propter loci dignitatem tolerandæ sunt manifestæ & Atroces injuriæ impietates, & flagitiosæ libidines Tyrannorum sine fine grassantium; sed reliqua politia, cui Deus gladium dedit, recte facit, cum *Caligulas*, *Neriones* & similia portenta removent a Gubernatione.

Indeed, when an Absolute Government hath, for the Sins of the People, taken firm Rooting, (which, Thanks be to God, was not *England's* Case,) I deny not but such as were born under it, ought to be content with their *Servile* Condition, till Heaven is prevail'd with by their Prayers and Piety, to release them from Thraldom: But in a *Free Estate* the Case stands as is before rehears'd.

Polanus,

Polanus, in propoſing the Queſtion, whether we ought to obey an *Abſolute* and *Tyrannical* Prince, exactly anſwers the Caſe of *England* under the Reign of the late King *James*; ſaying, *We muſt diſtinguiſh between an Abſolute, and a Limited Monarchy; in the former it muſt be born with, becauſe the Prince does but exertiſe his own Authority, like* Nebuchadnezzar: *But* * *if the King or Prince governs in a Limited Monarchy, where he receives his Crown on certain Conditions, which he promiſes and ſwears to obſerve; but inſtead of it, breaks his Oath, and ſets up a Deſpotick Power, unknown to the Conſtitution, and Inconſiſtent with the Safety of it, the Eſtates of the Kingdom may depoſe him from his Royal Dignity.* And this is *Melancton*'s meaning alſo, as may be collected from his Words already cited, *cui Deus gladium dedit, to whom God hath given the Authority.*

* Sed ſi Rex ſeu Princeps habeat limitatum, & adſtrictum certis conditionibus, in quas juravit, ſeu quas ſe promiſit ſervaturum, Penes Status aut Primores Regni, ſeu Principatus eſt coercere Regis ſeu Principis Tyrannidem & immanitatem. *Syntag. lib.* 10. *cap.* 62.

The Caſe thus ſtated, makes *England* unconcern'd in the Deep Submiſſions of the Primitive Chriſtians, who

who tho' they had Power, made no uſe of it to free themſelves, by throwing off their *Tyrannical* Emperors: Their Lots fell to them under an *Abſolute Government*, and they remain'd contented with the Diſpenſation of God's All-wiſe Providence: But may I not be permitted to ſay, their Natural Liberty to caſt off their heavy Yoke was reſtrain'd by *Chriſtian Prudence?* The Church was yet in too narrow a Room, but was intended by God Almighty to be *ſpread* thro' the other Parts of the World; and therefore *Rulers* would have been far more averſe from admitting the *Propagators* of it into their *Territories*, if the Chriſtians had contracted the Imputation of *Turbulency* by ſtanding upon their *Natural Right* to defend themſelves; whereas their *Lamb-like* Deportment gave them an eaſier Acceſs to all Places and Perſons. And if their *Forbearance* and *Patience* was the Fruit of this ſole *Prudential* Conſideration, their *Succeſſors* are not ſo much oblig'd to the ſame Courſe, in thoſe *Countries* where *Crowns* and *Sceptres* have ſubmitted to the *Croſs*, and the *Chriſtian*

ſtian Religion has obtain'd a *Civil Right* of *Protection*, and *Immunity* from Perſecution; for then they ought not, they cannot relinquiſh this Right, no more than they can *deſtroy* themſelves, or ſuffer Violence and Cruelty to deſtroy the *Innocent*. And what is ſaid of the *Chriſtian Religion* in reference to *Paganiſm*, holds alſo true between the *Reform'd Religion* and *Popery*. But

The great Objection, which they call Unanſwerable, is yet behind, *viz.* That a King, in Scripture-Language, is call'd a *Father*; to honour a Father is the *Fifth Commandment*, and therefore the *Obedience* of a Subject is as immutably faſten'd to him, *whatever his Miſcarriages are*, as that of a Natural Son to a *Vicious, Barbarous* Parent. A powerful Objection, which is always in their Mouths on a double Account. But if I can prove that a *Natural Father* may loſe his Claim to his Son's Obedience, their King's Right to our Obedience muſt *fall* with it, and proves his *Abdication* Lawful; which I ſhall attempt by giving theſe ſeveral Things in Anſwer, all grounded

ded upon no mean Authorities, And First,

1. The Appellation *Father* only describes the *Nature* of the Kingly Office, which is the Tender *Care*, and Studious *Regard*, he ought to exercise for the *Safety* and *Prosperity* of his Subjects. It tells not what he always *is*, but what he always *should* be: And while he carries it to his People as a *Father*, it is no less than a *Damnable Sin*, not to pay him a *Filial Obedience*. But whether the late King *James* had any Claim to our Duty upon that Consideration, I leave it to the Reader, who by this time has had a Glimpse of his Conversation. Secondly,

Our Obligation to obey *Natural Parents*, must give place to our Endeavours to *preserve our Country*. *Cicero* saw this by the Light of Nature, and therefore says, * *If a Father acts the part of a Tyrant, and endeavours the Destruction of his Country, the Son may lawfully oppose him; and if he will not be reclaim'd, and brought to Reason, the Son may accuse him,*

* Quid si Tyranidem aucupare, si patriam prodere conabitur Pater? Selebitne filius? Imo vero obsecrabit patrem ne id faciat: si nihil proficiet; accusabit, minabitur etiam: ad extremum, si ad pernitiem Patriæ res spectabit, Patriæ salutem anteponit saluti patris.

him, threaten him with Punishment, or confine him; being oblig'd to prefer the Safety of his own Country, before the private Satisfaction of his Father. Thirdly,

3. A *Natural Father*, by repeated Acts of *Barbarity* and *Cruelty* upon his *Son* alone, may forfeit all Just Claims to his *Son's Filial Obedience*. Let us put the Case; A Man who lives near the Sea, harbours and cherishes in his Mind a perfect Hatred of his *Son*, upon Contrariety in Religion, or some other Cause; and in the Heat of his *Fury*, resolves to destroy him; (History will warrant this Supposition;) and therefore, to prevent the *Eye*, and *Censure* of the World, privately binds him, puts him in a Chest, and carries him to the Sea-side at Low-Water Mark, that the Returning Flood may carry him to his Death: I also suppose, that after the *Son* has floated a while in this helpless, hopeless Condition, a Ship or Boat coming by, the *Mariners* take him up, and save that Life which his *Father* Intentionally, and Actually, thought he had made away. In this Case, *The Father can never*

never have any Right to his Son's After-Obedience, because he endeavour'd to destroy that Being wherein the Relation and Duty was founded: And is a good Argument to oblige us to a *Grateful* and *Dutiful* Return to our *Great Deliverer*, King *William*; but utterly destroys the Pretence of a *Paternal Right* in the late King *James*, after he had converted his Power of *Preservation* into a Power of *Desolation*, and *Destruction*; because he had destroy'd the *Relation on which our Duty was Originally founded, and without which he had no Claim to it.*

In such, and *Easier* Cases than now is put, Wise Men, for above a *Thousand Years* together, have judg'd that such *Cruel Fathers* have lost all *Just Title* to their Abus'd Children, as may be read in the *Decrees* of the *Emperors Valentinianus, Valens*, and *Gratianus*, directed to *Probus* the *Prefect*, Recorded by *Justinianus Codicis liber octavus, Tit.* 52. and in the *Decree* of *Justinian* the *Emperor*, directed to *Demosthenes*, his *Prætorian Prefect*. By all which it appears, that a Man's exposing his own *Child* in a *Box*, or *Basket*, on the High-way,

way, at a Stranger's Door, or elſewhere, where he is ſure to periſh, unleſs ſome *Charitable* Hand by chance takes him up, and preſerves him, amounts in *Sound* Judgment to the *Forfeiture* of his Claim to their future Obedience, (ſuppoſing their Caſual Preſervation,) notwithſtanding the firm Tyes of *Nature* and *Property*.

All the great Interpreters of the *Civil Law*, from *Juſtinian* hitherto, have approv'd the afore-cited Judgment: *Baldus*, *Salycetus*, and others, have done it of old; and the latter Swarms of *Civilians*, *Hermannius*, *Vulteius*, *Harppreſtus*, &c. have given their Aſſent to it: All which I ſhall wave, and only recite the Words of *Hadrianus Saravia*, who, tho' a *Stranger*, was, in reſpect of his great Learning, preferr'd here by Queen *Elizabeth*. He expreſſes the Senſe of all the reſt, in his Firſt Book *de Imperandi Authoritate, & Chriſtiana Obedientia*, in ſaying, *that* * *if Parents grow ſo unnatural and cruel to*

* Qui recens natos Infantes abjiciunt feris devorandos, aut a quovis tollendos, omne jus paternum ſimul objeciunt. Nihil enim genuiſſe promerentur, niſi Natos educaverint. *Cap.* 2.

the

the Issue of their own Loins, as to expose them to Wild Beasts, or by other Cruelties endeavour to deprive them of their Lives, they forfeit all kind of Paternal Right to, and Authority over their Children, because they had divested themselves of Humanity, and not answer'd the End for which God and Nature design'd them; which was, to educate and preserve their Children, but not do them any Injury. So that the Inference from these Premisses will *utterly* overthrow the Objection of our Adversaries, in favour of the late King *James*.

For if a *Patron* that out of a Principle of Cruelty exposeth the Life of his *Slave*, makes a *Forfeiture* of his *Property* in him, much more may a *Prince* for the *same* Reason forfeit all his Interest in his *Free-born* Subjects. And if a *Natural Father*, who seeks the Destruction of his *Son*, does therefore lose all just Claim to *that Son's Obedience*, much more may a *Prince*: who is but a *Casual*, *Political Father*, and is invested with that Relation only by *Agreement*, and *Compact*, may *a Fortiori*, for the *same Reason* make a just *Forfeiture*, and

lose

loſe all juſt Claim to the Obedience of his *Politicol Children*.

So that the Convention of the Eſtates Aſſembl'd at *Weſtminſter*, in *Depoſing* the late King, and conferring the Crown upon our Gracious King *William* the Third, have done nothing againſt the late King *James* but what they were neceſſitated to do, and what they are juſtify'd in doing by the greateſt *Authorities* in the *Chriſtian* World.

At the late King's *Going off*, and making no manner of *Proviſion* for the Adminiſtration of the Government, the Nation ſeem'd to be in the ſame Condition they were in when the *Original Contract* was firſt made; and the ſame *Care* was requiſite to ſettle the Diſtracted Affairs of the Realm, under that *Confuſion* wherein he left it, as if we never had been bleſs'd with any Settlement at all; and conſequently, the *Convention*, upon the *Vacancy* of the *Throne*, had Power to Model Things as the preſent Circumſtances of the Publick exacted, without being confin'd to the *Preſidents* of former Ages; and yet ſo great was

the Modesty of that Venerable Assembly, and their Care to prevent Innovations, that they did nothing but what had been already done upon the like Occasion many Hundred Years before.

How the *Clergy*, the *Barons*, and the *Commons* deported themselves towards *King John* five Hundred Years ago, and Deposing him, and Electing *Lewis* of *France*, I have already acquainted you; and therefore shall say no more here, than that the *Grounds* of their Proceedings were for Re-gaining those *Franchises* that were notoriously invaded by that *Arbitrary Prince*, and are contain'd in the *Great Charter* of *England*.

King Edward the Second, tracing the same *Arbitrary* Methods, the *Barons* send him word, *That* * *unless he put away* Peirce Gaveston, *that corrupted his Counsels, and squander'd his Revenue, and also addicted himself to Govern by the Laws of the Land, they would, with one Consent, Rise in Arms against him, as a Perjur'd Person.* And so they did, and Beheaded his Minion *Gaveston*, notwithstanding the King's earnest Sollici-

* Trussell's *Hist.* p. 206.

tation

ration for his Life. The ſame Fate attended the *Spencers*: And a Parliament being call'd without his Conſent, at length himſelf was Depos'd; who confeſs'd the Sentence of his Depoſition was *juſt*, that he was ſorry he had ſo offended the *State* as they ſhould utterly *Reject* him; but gave the *Parliament* Thanks that they were ſo * gracious to him, as to Elect his *Eldeſt Son* their *King*.

* Truſſell's Hiſt. p. 218.

King Richard the Second being laps'd into the ſame Misfortune of Affecting a Tyrannical Government, the *Lords* and *Commons* declare unto him, (then at *Eltham*,) *That* † *in caſe he would not be govern'd by the Laws, Statutes, and Laudable Cuſtoms and Ordinances of the Realm, and the Wholſome Advice of the Lords and Peers, but in a Head-ſtrong Way, would exerciſe his own Will; they would Depoſe him from his Regal Throne, and promote ſome Kinſman of his of the Royal Family, to the Throne of the Kingdom in his ſtead.* But this Warning having no Effect, at length a *Parliament* is Call'd, without the *King's Conſent*, or *Approbation*, by

† Knighton, An. 1386.

Henry Duke of *Lancaster*. They requir'd him to *Resign* his Crown, which tho' he condescended to, and *actually* perform'd it as directed, yet the * *Parliament* then Sitting, thinking this *Abdication* not sufficient to build upon, because the *Writing* might be the Effect of *Fear*, and so not *Voluntary*, and *Spontaneous*; they thereupon proceed to a *Formal Deposition*, in the Names of all the *Commons* of *England*, upon the Articles Exhibited against him, which consisted of Twenty nine Particulars, and the greatest part of them relating to the Affairs of that Time, in which *this Age* is not concern'd: I have contracted them into a narrower Compass than in the * *Original*, without omitting any thing that is material; and are what follows, *viz.*

* Trussell, l. 2. p. 43.

* Trussell's Hist.

"That King *Richard* the Second "*wasted* the Treasure of the Realm. "That he Impeach'd several Great "Lords of *High Treason*, that Acted "for the Good of the Kingdom by "Order of *Parliament*. That he "*perverted* the Course of Justice, "and

" and took away the *Lives* and *E-*
" *ſtates* of certain *Noble-Men*, with-
" out Form of *Law*. That he af-
" firm'd All *Law* lay in his Head,
" and Breaſt; and that all the *Lives*
" and *Eſtates* of his Subjects were
" in his Hands, to diſpoſe of at
" *pleaſure*. That he put out divers
" Knights and Burgeſſes *Legally* E-
" lected, and put in others of his
" *own Choice* to ſerve his *Turn*.
" That he Rais'd *Taxes* contrary to
" *Law*, and his own *Oath*. And
" Baniſh'd the Archbiſhop of *Can-*
" *terbury* without *Juſt* Cauſe, or *Le-*
" *gal* Judgment pronounc'd againſt
" him."

For theſe Reaſons he was formally *Depos'd* by Parliament, who at the ſame time Conſented that *Henry Duke of Lancaſter* ſhould be Crown'd *King*, tho' the Right of Blood was in *Edmund Earl of March*, becauſe (now) *Henry the Fourth* had ſignaliz'd himſelf in *Delivering* the Nation from the Tyranny of *Richard the Second*. And after the ſame manner, tho' with *a more Free and Abſolute Election*, proceeded the late

Convention of Estates, in Deposing *James* the Second, and filling the Vacant Throne with our present Monarch, *William* the Third, who, under God, was the Glorious and Happy Instrument of Freeing *England* from the *Tyranny* of the late *King*. These Proceedings I have already prov'd to be consentaneous to all Laws: And to confirm it, shall only add,

That amongst all the *Unfortunate* Princes that have been laid aside by their Subjects, none were more justly Dethron'd, than *James* the Second.

We read of some Princes that were *Depos'd* because they were Infected with the *Leprosie*; but I think none will pretend that Leprosie under the *Law* was as Incompatible with the Government, as *Tyranny*, and Setting up of *Idolatry*, was at this Juncture; for that Disease was not in the power of *Oziah* to help, but *Tyranny* was the Efflux of the late King's Arbitrary Will, and the Gratification of his Sensual Appetite. Besides, *Leprosie* is but a Distaste in the *Body*; but *Tyranny*, in the

the *Soul*. *Leproſie* was but a *Ceremonial* Evil; but, according to this manner of Speaking, *Tyranny* is a *Moral* Evil. *Leproſie* does but *infect*; *Tyranny deſtroys*.

King *Childeric* of *France* was *Depos'd* for *Slothfulneſs*, and neglecting the Affairs of the Kingdom; and if it muſt be acknowledg'd, this ſhameful Inactivity, to which the Kings of *France* were then accuſtom'd, was grown very diſadvantageous to the Government: But *France* was not in danger of *periſhing* by his Idleneſs; and *England* was on the very Moment of being *deſtroy'd* by the late King's *Tyranny*, and Subverſion of the Laws: And ſo much Difference as there was between doing *Nothing*, and endeavouring to *Ruin All*, ſo much Difference was there between the Dethronement of *Childeric*, and that of *James* the Second.

There have been Kings *Depos'd* for Involuntary *Abſence* upon certain Occaſions; but that cannot ſtand in Competition with the late King's wilful *Renunciation* of the Government, by refuſing to Govern by the

Laws of the Constitution, and his Voluntary Deserting the Kingdom, when no *Force* compell'd him to it. Was there ever any Mention of Introducing *another King*, till the *Throne* stood empty by the late King's going away? Did ever so *Great* a People comport themselves with so little Disorder, when they were *Lawless*, and without a *Government*? And was it not high time to provide for the *Safety* of the Nation, when he that should have *Govern'd* it, had voluntarily *left* it; and not only so, but left it in the greatest *Confusion* he could possibly reduce it to; and went *off*, only to procure a *Foreign Army* to Conquer and Subdue the whole Nation into Slavery; and profest himself an open and *Hostile* Enemy to the Kingdom. Was the *Absence* of a Prince to be compar'd with these *Extravagancies*? Were they any longer to be submitted to, when there was no Hope of Amendment? They that assert such *Contradictions*, and *Improbabilities*, might as well affirm that a *Fever* was a *Recipe* for *Health*; and the *Plague* a *Medicine* for *Long Life*;

and

and would gain Credit as ſoon to one, as they can do to the other.

Subjects have Renounc'd their Kings for Uſurping a Power to treat them as they pleas'd, as was the Caſe of *Rehoboam* and *Jeroboam*: But what is Arbitrary Power, (tho' bad enough too,) when compar'd with an *Actual Neceſſity of Deſtroying the Nation*; and that Neceſſity impos'd upon the *Prince* by his *Conſcience*, under the Expectation of Eternal Rewards in the World to come. There may be Hopes of Reclaiming a Prince from the Evil Counſel of Others; but there is no dividing a Man from himſelf.

In culpa eſt Animus, qui ſe non effugit unquam. * Hor. lib. 1. ep. 14.

In James *the Second's Mind, the Fault did lie,*
That never from it ſelf could fly.

Conſtantius Copronimus was Depoſed for *Impiety*: but that being a *Perſonal* Evil, affected the *Publick* only by the Ill Conſequences of a *Regal Example*: And *Impiety* was never

never the *Parent* of so many *Cruelties*, as the *Superstition* we are speaking of has been amongst us. *Atheism* and *Infidelity* are Sins of the *highest* nature; but never were guilty of Shedding so much *Humane Blood*, as *Superstition*. And therefore Princes have not been thought so *Justly* to deserve a *Deprivation*, and the Loss of their *Crowns* and *Countries*, as a Prince *Superstitiously* devoted to a *False* Religion, who thinks his Actions *Pious* at the same time that he is * committing the *greatest Wickedness*, and † rendring himself Infamous by Inglorious *Cruelties* to his Subjects: Which we had Cause to dread, for,

* Qui est facto pius est sceleratus eodem.

† Crudelitas nobilitata Religione.

* Lucret. l. 5.

* -----*Sæpius olim,*
Religio peperit Scelerosa, atque Impia facta.

-----*In our Fore-Fathers Times,*
Religion did commit the fouleſt Crimes.

Some Princes have been Depos'd for *Cruelty*, but their Cruelty not to be compar'd with his; for a *Transient* Cruelty was always thought more

more tolerable than one that was *Durable!* A *particular*, rather than a *publick* Miſchief! A *Cruelty* hated by all the World, as appearing in its own *Likeneſs frightful*, rather than a *Cruelty* hidden under the pretext of *Piety* and *Religion!* A *Cruelty* which deſtroys the *Body* only, rather than a *Cruelty* that deſtroys both *Body* and *Soul* at the ſame time! A *tolerable Cruelty* and *Oppreſſion*, before a *Cruelty* advanc'd before we are *aware* into an Inviolable *Law* of the Kingdom, and may be juſtly nam'd an * *Immortal* Hatred, and an *Incurable* Wound, in the Body Politick, that threatens *Deſtruction* to the whole Nation. Such was the Tyranny of the late *King*, whoſe Outſide was *Devotion*, and In-ſide *Deſtruction*; for tho' in the general Repreſentation of Things he ſeem'd but to take off the *Penal Laws* againſt *Papiſts*, yet in the *Diſtinct Idea* he deſign'd to execute the *Penal Decrees* of the Church of *Rome* againſt *Proteſtants*; which was viſible in ſetting up *Popiſh Magiſtrates*, who think themſelves oblig'd to work our

* Immortale odium & nunquam Sanabile Vulnus. *Juvenal. Sat.* 13.

our Ruin. And in these cover'd Designs he exceeded most of the Tyrants that went before him, who were contented to abuse their Subjects themselves, without endowing their Inferiour Magistrates with a Supream Power for the same Purposes.

Nero kill'd his *Mother* and *Brother*, and most of his *Honest* Courtiers; but did not command his Governors of Provinces to follow his wicked Example. *Astiages* gave his *Favourite* the Head of his Son to eat; but did not impose upon his Lieutenants a Necessity of Imitating him in his *Barbarous* Repasts. The *Roman Emperors* persecuted the *Primitive Christians* with all manner of Cruelties; but we do not find that they were so oblig'd in Conscience to do it, that they put it out of their power to shew them any Mercy: But that *Popery* does it, is known to Heaven and Earth, and they must pull out their Eyes that will not perceive it.

So that our Adversaries must consent, that the Proceedings of the late *Convention of Estates*, in Deposing

James

James the Second, were the moſt *Natural*, *Juſt*, *Neceſſary*, and *Lawful*, that ever was, or can be, on the like Occaſion. And they have nothing leſt them to object, unleſs they can prove that the *Laws* of which we have ſpoken, were not of great Conſequence to the Nation, or that the late King did not break them, ſince I have already prov'd that no Prince can have ſuch an *Abſolute Right* to a Crown, but for the *Safety* of a Kingdom, he may be Dethron'd. For,

By the ſame Reaſon that he may *Loſe* it to a Conqueror, or *Reſign* it to a Succeſſor, he may *Abdicate* it. Otherwiſe, the very *End* of Government would be loſt, if the *Prince* that endeavours to ſubvert the Kingdom does not at the ſame time *forfeit* his own Right to it. And therefore the *Convention of Eſtates*, who bleſs'd the Nation with the preſent Settlement, had been Juſtifiable, though they had fail'd of Succeſs, the late *King* having long before ceas'd to be a *Legal* King of *England*.

My

My next Undertaking is, to ſhew that *King* William *the Third*, now in the Throne of his Anceſtors, *is Rightful and Lawful King of* England, Scotland, France *and* Ireland, *and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging.* And to prove this beyond all poſſibility of Diſpute, tho' I need uſe no other Argument, than that he is King by the *Unanimous* Vote, and *Univerſal* Election of the People; *Confirm'd* and *Recogniz'd* by the ſame *Authority* and *Law* of *England*, by which all his Royal *Predeceſſors* enjoy'd the Imperial Crowns of theſe Kingdoms; beſides the Undoubted *Right* of his Excellent Princeſs, and his own *Right* of Blood; and that the *Submiſſion* of the People, and *Determination* of the Eſtates of the Kingdom, grounded not only upon the *Supream Law* of *Publick Good*, but alſo upon the *Known*, and Declar'd *Poſitive Laws* and Conſtitutions of this Government, as there has been Occaſion in *all Ages*, from the firſt Foundation of this Limited Monarchy; and that this is *Concluſive* to all Private Subjects: Yet becauſe

we ought to Resolve Cases here, that may stand with the *Reason* of Mankind, when they are debated abroad; and that some that have writ on the *Behalf* of the Government, by their *weak* and *precarious* Arguments, have set up divers *Titles* that make it look like a Fanciful *Chimera*, or built upon a Sandy or Fictitious Bottom; and have more *disparag'd* the Revolution by their *Impertinencies*, than all that have exercis'd their *Pens*, or *Spleens*, against it. I crave Leave to be a little more particular upon it.

The *Crown* of *England*, as placed on the Head of our Dread Sovereign *William* the Third, stands Firm and Immoveable there, on the *Right* of the *Case*, and the *Reason* of the *Thing*, without the Props of Art, Oratory, or Learning, to support it. Shuffling between Providential Settlement, Conquest, and Topping Protections of Power, scandalize the King's Legal Title, and mis-lead his Subjects. Let but the Matter express it self plainly, and it will carry an Entire Conviction and Satisfaction with it, in its own

own Genuine Phraſe, and Deſignment.

'Tis *truly* and *plainly* ſtated in the Prince of *Orange*'s *Declaration*; and is neither more, nor leſs, than what briefly follows.

James the Second, directly contrary to his *Coronation-Oath*, breaks through all the Eſtabliſh'd *Laws* of the Land, Invades and Subverts the *Religious* and *Civil Rights*, *Liberties*, *Privileges* and *Properties* of his Subjects, which he ſolemnly Swore to Protect and Defend; and in an *Arbitrary* and *Tyrannical* Manner, Diſſolves the Conſtitution of *Church* and *State*, by Uſurping a *Power* unknown to the *Conſtitution*, and as *Inconſiſtent* with it, as Light with Darkneſs. His Subjects perceiving *All* going to *Ruin*, having firſt us'd all Means to Reclaim him, but to no purpoſe, Aſſume their *Natural Right*, in Defence of their *Laws*, their *Lives*, their *Religion*; and to preſerve them *Entire*, oppoſe the Violent and *Arbitrary* Methods of the late *King*, and apply themſelves to the *Prince* of *Orange*, our now *Gracious King*, who had a Juſt Expecta-

nwo tion

tion of a *Right* to the *Crown*; and humbly pray *His Highneſs* to aſſiſt them in Recovering and Defending their *Legal Rights*, together with his *own Title* to the Succeſſion; both apparently *Invaded*, and endeavouring to be *Deſtroy'd* by Clandeſtine Methods.

This *Illuſtrious Prince* gives the People Aſſiſtance, and by the Bleſſing of God, and the Mutual Appearance of the Nation for their *Self-Defence* and *Preſervation*, *James* the Second, Conſcious of his own Guilt in endeavouring to ſubvert the Conſtitution, and breaking the *Original Contract* between *King* and *People*, and that by the Advice of *Jeſuits*, and other Wicked People, he had Violated the Fundamental Laws, and thereby *Abdicated* the Government; *he leaves the Kingdom.* Upon which *Vacancy* of the *Throne*, His Highneſs the *Prince* of *Orange*, together with his *Royal Conſort* of ever Bleſſed Memory, the next *Indiſputable* Heir to the Crown, in a *Full* and *Free* Repreſentation of the *whole* Community, and *Body* of the Kingdom, is, and are, *Declar'd* and *Con-*

ſtituted *King* and *Queen* of *England*, &c.

Now, ſince 'tis viſible that the late King *James* was fled, and that it was abſolutely neceſſary the Government ſhould be ſupply'd, and ſome other *King* plac'd in the *Throne*, who accepting the Crown upon the Conditions tender'd with it, would give Aſſurance of Governing by the *Laws* of the Conſtitution, and ſecure our Happineſs under him, there can remain no reaſonable Objection againſt his Title. Beſides,

His Sacred Majeſty King *William* the Third, in a more eſpecial manner is God's *King*, as being appointed by his Providence, (by whom Kings Reign,) aſſiſted by his Almighty Power, and the Glorious Inſtrument in his Hand, to Enterprize and Accompliſh ſuch a *Deliverance*, as in common Gratitude, without Reſpect to other *Right*, in all Nations of the World has been conſtantly *Rewarded* with a Crown; and more particularly in *England*, upon that Reſpect *Alone*, has juſtly meritted the Sovereignty.

His

His preſent Majeſty is alſo God's *King*, as being the Wiſe and Valiant Champion of all the Reformed Churches in *Europe*; and who with his Sword, his Head, and Heart, fights for Chriſt's Religion, and to reſcue the Profeſſors of it from mighty Combinations to deſtroy them Root and Branch. In which Great and Glorious Work, God Almighty has ſignally own'd him as his Anointed King, in preſerving his Sacred Perſon in the Open Dangers of Wars, and from the many Cloſe and Barbarous Conſpiracies of Ingrateful Regicides.

He is alſo *the People's King*, as being their *Voluntary* Choice when they had no *King*; and Eſtabliſh'd by thoſe *Laws* that were of their own making, and the Precedents of their Fore-Fathers on the like Occaſions: For, to riſe no higher than the *Norman* Race, *William* the Second, *Henry* the Firſt, King *John*, King *Stephen*, *Henry* the Fourth, *Henry* the Fifth, *Henry* the Sixth, and *Henry* the Seventh, had no other Title but the Conſent, Election of the People, and a Parlia-

tary *Recognition* of their Rights: But *King William* the Third's Right is not only *Recogniz'd* by a *Statute-Law*, but his *Perſon* and *Right* is Guarded by an *Act of Aſſotiation*, wherein all his Subjects have oblig'd themſelves to *Defend* him with their *Lives* and *Fortunes*, and to *Revenge* the Injury of his *Perſon* upon all the *Agreſſors*. And what could be more done to declare his *Right*, and engage our *Obedience*.

'Tis the *Rarity* of theſe Things happening, and a general *Ignorance* in the Hiſtory of Precedent Times, that makes ſuch Proceedings ſeem ſtrange and unaccountable to thoſe who have been *Nurs'd* up in *Slaviſh* Notions, and apprehend not the *Neceſſity* of thoſe Overtures againſt *King James* the Second, and Supplying the Throne by the Coronation of *William* the Third. For,

Our preſent *King William* came into as *Empty* a Throne as the late *King James* himſelf did; a *Civil* Death in the Eye of the Law, making as effectual a *Vacancy* as a *Natural* Death; and therefore *King William* had the ſame *Forms* of *Inveſti-*

veſtiture, as if his *Abdicated* Predeceſſor had left the World, as well as his *Native* Country. Why then ſhould Men create themſelves *Trouble*, or *diſquiet* their own and other Men's *Conſciences*, by Vexatious Diſputes againſt the *Divine* Will, *Poſitive* Laws, and the *Concurrence* of a whole Nation. *Solomon* was not *David*'s Heir, and yet he Reigned and was Obey'd with good Conſcience. *Joram* was *Ahab*'s Son, but *Jehu* ſucceeded King: *Joram* had a Right from *Ahab*, but *Jehu* from God. *Iſhboſheth* had Right by Deſcent from *Saul*, but *David* was made King; And 'twas for the ſake of Religion that they were thus Plac'd, and Diſplac'd. In *France*, *Childeric* was Depos'd, and *Egidius*, or *Gillon*, a mere Stranger, (but in Reputation for *Probity* and *Wiſdom*,) was Elected in his ſtead. *Pepin* was Elected King, and *Thierry* Depos'd. *Pepin*, Grandſon to the former, was by *Parliament Crown'd King*, tho' there was of that *Marovinian* Race in Being. *Charlemain*'s and *Hugh Capet*'s *beſt*, if not *only* Title, was the Choice of the People.

So that I wonder the *French* Writers ſhould queſtion the Legality of the late Revolution in *England*, ſince if we look back into the Original of other *Kings*, and how they came to their Crowns,

King William's Title to the Crown of *England* is as *good* as the *beſt*, and much *better* than ſome now Reigning in *Europe*; for if all the *Monarchs* and *Governments* in *Europe* that have ſucceeded ſuch *Depoſitions*, or *Abdications*, have been *Unlawful*, and *Uſurp'd*, there is not *one Monarch* or *Government* in all *Europe*, nay, ſcarce in the *whole* World, that can ſay they have a *Lawful* Authority, but muſt acknowledge (according to the Doctrine of *D'Orleance*) that they are all Uſurpers: Which I wonder he had the *Confidence* to Aſſert, ſince he cannot be ignorant that the *French* Kings enjoy their Crowns in Conſequence of the *Abdications* and *Depoſitions* of their *Predeceſſors*, and the People's *Elections* which ſucceeded thoſe *Dethronements*.

So that *King* William's *Title to the Crown of* England, is as good as King

King *Lewis's* to *France*, if not better; for their own *Hiſtorians* give great Suſpicion of *Unfair* Dealings, and *Sly* Practices in the *Elections* of ſome of the *French* Kings; but neither *Envy* it ſelf, nor the moſt *Inveterate* of all our Enemies, could ever object it againſt King *William*, that by any *Acts* of *Force*, or *Arts* of *Corruption*, he endeavour'd to work on the *Members* of either *Houſe*, to labour his own Advancement; but that it was the *Free Election* of the Majority, after long Debates and Conſultations on other Expedients.

His Majeſty did not, like King *Harold*, lay Violent Hands upon a *Crown*; but only *Accepted* it when it was *Offer'd*: And, which ſhews his *Goodneſs* and *Juſtice*, he receiv'd it too on the *Conditions* that were offer'd with it; which gives us a laſting Aſſurance of the *Regularity* of his Government.

His *Vertue* and his *Merit* recommended him to *England*, by their *Free Election* he was made *King*, and that is the *Right* he Claims by; and being the moſt *Righteous*, and *Lawful*,

that can be without a Miracle, it makes out *Allegiance* and *Obedience* to him become our Indiſpencible Duty. But

That which I but hinted before, and now comes to Crown all the reſt, and put it quite out of Diſpute for ever, is, *It was God's Doing, the Immediate Hand of Heaven was in it:* And, truly, nothing leſs could have accompliſh'd ſuch Miraculous Things.

We all know what the Nation *Felt*, and *Fear'd*; the Overturning of this Church, and the Subverting this Government. Now all this being ſtopp'd, our *Religion* ſecur'd, our *Temporalities* ſafe, and a Check put to the Spirit of *Perſecution*, and all in ſo ſhort a Time, muſt be aſcrib'd to an *Almighty* Power and Goodneſs.

That when the *Deſign* of our *Deliverance* was Form'd, and Eſſaying, there ſhould be ſo extraordinary a Concurrence of all *Favourable* Accidents, and diſpoſing all Men's Minds the ſame Way: That the *Precipitation* and *Folly* of our *Perſecutors* in opening their Ill Deſigns ſo *Early*, and

and the *Unrelenting* Cruelty put in practice in a Neighbouring Kingdom, ſhould ſend us over ſo many *Thouſand Witneſſes* to awaken us, and ſhew us what we were to expect when that *Bloody* Religion became *Triumphant* amongſt us; and what all *Oaths*, *Promiſes* and *Laws* ſhould ſignifie, as ſoon as they could break through them: And that this ſhould happen at the *ſame time* when the late *King* was Suſpending *Laws*, in favour of the *Papiſts*: That our Enemies ſhould go on ſo *faſt*, and *Bare-fac'd*: That they ſhould *graſp* ſo much at once, and ſuffer the *Hook* to be ſo ill cover'd when the *Bait* was thrown out: And that all their *Deſigns* ſhould be blaſted by themſelves, muſt be aſcrib'd to the *Eternal*, who brings to Light the hidden Things of Darkneſs, and ſuffers the Wicked to be taken in the Snare they prepar'd for others. Further,

That the great *Supporter* of Perſecution ſhould ſtart a *Quarrel* with the Head of that *Myſtical Babylon*, and divert his *Force* to a New War, (an unjuſt one to be ſure ſince he

began

began it:) And so many great *Princes* should Unite, to Stop his *Carier*, and preserve *Europe*: That so great an *Army* as the late King had Rais'd, from whom our present King might expect a stout Opposition, should voluntarily Desert, grow Supine, and comply with *Reason*, and the *Good* of the Nation: That such a *Divided* People should so Unanimously Concurr in in *Electing* the same Person to be their *King*; and that this mighty *Deliverance* should be perfected without Shedding of *Blood*, agreeable to the *Proposals* and *Intentions* of our Great *Deliverer*, the *Laws* of the Land, and the *present* and *future* Tranquility of the whole *Nation*; *must be the Lord's Doing, and ought to be Commemorated to his Eternal Glory*, and Accompany'd with a *Grateful* Retribution, and *Dutiful* Obedience to our Gracious King, who hath done such great Things for us: Which is the last Particular.

'Tis, doubtless, one of the most palpable Signs of a Base, Profligate *Nature*,

Nature, not to be oblig'd by *Favours*: 'Twould be an Injury to a *Beaſt*, to call him *Ingrateful*: That Epithet no Being can deſerve, but one that is degenerated into ſomething more Vile than the *worſt* of Animals, that has broke through all that is Modeſt, Ingenious, and Tender and Apprehenſive in Humane Nature. And for the Noble Creature *Man* to be guilty of *Ingratitude*, in *Offending* our *Deliverer*, or *Diſhonouring* our *Sovereign*, by any Raſh or Unadvis'd Words or Actions, who ſav'd us from *Ruin*, who ſnatch'd us from the Brink of *Deſtruction*: To return him *Evil* for *Good*, to requite his Favours with Indignities; to Diminiſh his Power, by taking too much upon themſelves; to Miſ-repreſent his *Gratious* Intention, or Leſſen or Detract from his Goodneſs, is to ſink below Comprehenſion, and render himſelf unworthy of the Blackeſt Thought!

With what Emotion, and Grief of Mind then can we think of thoſe that are already grown ſo Inſenſible of their *paſt Dangers*, and forgetting the

the Mercy of their *Deliverance*, abuſe Modeſt Ears with *Invidious* Reflections upon the *Supream* and Subordinate Authority they ought to obey! How is Converſation Sour'd by thoſe Animals, that, like Tame Ducks, are always dabling in Naſty Gutturs, that Eſpy and Publiſh all Men's Faults but their own; and can no more reſt from *Reproaching* their Superiours, than a Crow from feeding on Carrion! *Jealouſies*, like Bull-Ruſhes, grow out of the *Mud* of their own Brains; and their Suſpicious and Ungrounded Glances diſcover more *Rancour*, than direct *Contumelies*.

They boaſt of their Affection, and mighty Services done for the Government, yet do their utmoſt to make it Contemptible. Some of them carry their Fire in *Dark-Lantherns*, ſigh out their Sorrows for Miſ-managements, deplore the Danger that hangs over us, and perſuade the World that every thing is out of Order, *becauſe themſelves are out of Office*. Others *Rail* outright, and carry the Brands Ends open in their Mouths to kindle

Com-

Combuſtions, and, *Archimago*-like, make Variance between the Head and the Body, upon no other Ground than *Obloquies*, *Suſpicions* and *Fears*, thoſe Brats of Rotten Fame, that have no Father but their own Invention. Theſe are

A ſort of Men, *Illuminated* into a kind of *Diſtraction*, whom nothing can pleaſe, and what any thing cannot but diſpleaſe; ever conſtant to their *Old* Diſlikes, and the Beginning of *New* Wiſhes; and who, like the Bay of *Biſcay*, are always *Rough* and *Angry* let the Wind *blow* where it will: Talk of *Loyalty* and *Obedience*, you raiſe their *Paſſion*, and they call you *Tory*: If you talk *Well* of all Men, they call you a *Trimmer*: Speak of preſerving a due *Temperament* in the State, they call you a *Whig*, or *Republican*: And ſay *nothing*, and they proclaim you a *Fool* becauſe you are not a *Buſie-Body*.

What a ſtrange Paſs are Things brought to by carrying all Things into *Extremities*! Some Men, by *Overſtraining* the Doctrine of *Obedience*, made it Contemptible. Muſt

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we therefore wholly lay aſide that *Evangelical* Precept? Becauſe we are not oblig'd to obey a *Tyrant*, muſt we therefore *diſpute* away our Duty to the King, and make our Submiſſion as *Arbitrary* as the Power we declaim'd againſt? Becauſe we ought not to ſubmit to a *Deſtroyer*, muſt we not obey our *Preſerver*? Becauſe a more than ordinary Liberty of *Cenſuring* Publick Affairs was aſſum'd in our late Times of *Confuſion* and *Diſorder*, muſt that Pragmatical Humour be continu'd, to create *new* Jealouſies and Diſturbances, now the *State* is ſettl'd, a *Good King* in the Throne, and Juſtice equally Adminiſter'd through the whole Kingdom? No! Sure 'tis time for theſe Over-active *State-menders* to comport themſelves with more *Modeſty* and *Decency* to the Government, to bind their Tongues to the *Good Behaviour*, to Reſtrain *Seditious* Diſcourſes, and Intermedling in Publick Affairs; to ſtudy to be *Quiet*, and do their own Buſineſs; to *fear God, honour and obey the King*: For whatever they think of it, or however it may have been abus'd,

abus'd, or miſ-apply'd, in former Reigns, *Obedience to Princes is the Doctrine of the Bible*, and the *Indiſpencible Duty of Subjects to their Sovereign:* And therefore upon that Head I will here endeavour to ſettle it.

You cannot be ignorant what a *Character* our Enemies give us, *viz.* That we are as *Unchangeable* as the *Wind*, and as *Unconſtant* and *Quarrelſome* as the *Waves* of the *Sea*, that are always *Fluctuating*, and daſhing themſelves to pieces. *Fickleneſs* is the Reproach of our Nation abroad, and has render'd us *Vile* and *Cheap* amongſt other Nations.

Now an Opportunity is put into our Hands to confute thoſe *Prejudices*, by a Stability in our *Allegiance* to ſuch a *King*, and Subjection to ſuch a *Government*, as all *Europe* admire and envy us for.

Now we have an Advantage to ſhew our Complaints again the *late King* were *True*, and that the Cauſes of them were *Real*; and may gain a *Reputation* of our Conduct, when we ſhew by our Actions, that as we had the *Prudence* to change

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ſo much for the *better*, ſo we have the *Wiſdom* to know when we are well, and the *Honeſty* to continue ſo.

The *Papiſts* reproach our *Religion* with *Diſloyalty*; and therefore, after we have *ſtruggl'd* ſo hard to keep it, we ought to ſhew it was *worth* Contending for, and wipe off that Aſpertion, by extolling its Vertue, becauſe, amongſt other Excellencies, it obliges us to a *Fermety* in our *Allegiance*, beyond all other Motives in the World; and that upon a Religious Foundation chiefly, we build and maintain our Duty to the *King*; and tho' Lower Conſiderations have ſometimes their Place, and Value, yet that the Grand and *Durable* Obligations ſpring from thoſe Sacred Maxims. And I the rather preſs it to you upon this Score, becauſe it will juſtifie you before God, make you appear truly Religious and Reaſonable before Men, and will be thought beſt Subjects by the King, becauſe your *Loyalty* is the Fruit of your *Religion*.

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As for *Intereſt*, it is ſo *Uncertain* and *Changeable* a Thing, that it gives a *Prince* no Security in Relying upon that Topick; nor a Subject can ſcarce *truſt* himſelf with it. For the *ſame* Reaſons that now Induce Men to be *Loyal*, may, if the Scene ſhould *change*, a *better* Offer be made, and a *Pardon* inclos'd, prevail with the ſame Perſons to be Rebels and Traytors.

Thoſe that follow'd our Bleſſed Saviour for *the Loaves, whereof they eat, and were fill'd*, ſoon forſook him: And thoſe that adhere to our *King*, only as *Rats* and *Mice* do a *Barn* becauſe there is *Grain* in it, are in danger of Deſerting him as ſoon as they find their Expectations fruſtrated. Things are but at an Ill paſs when Subjects *Loyalty* continues no longer than while they are *Oblig'd* by Favours; and when every *froward* Perſon ſhall ſet up againſt the *Court*, if he be not *Advanc'd* and *Rewarded*, as his own Ambition and Avarice tells him he ought to be.

Gratitude and Thankfulneſs to a *Prince* are eternally due from his

Subjects, and is a good Foundation to build our Obedience upon; but we have ſorrowfully experienc'd that ſome Men's *Loyalty* have expir'd with their Shouts and Acclamations, or at leaſt but the *Loſs* of an *Employment*; and all the Reaſon that can be given for it, is, becauſe their Duty was not grounded upon *Religion* and *Conſcience*.

The People of *England* have been always great Pretenders to both; and now if they have not ſo long *wrangl'd* about theſe Things that they have quite *loſt* them, and have had *God* and *Conſcience* ſo long in their *Mouths* that their *Hearts* have almoſt forgotten there are any ſuch Thing; it now concerns them who have ſeen ſo many viſible Interpoſitions of Providence in behalf of our *King*, our *Church*, and our *Nation*, theſe ſtrange and ſudden Changes of Things, and ſuch a mighty *Deliverance* effected, which nothing but the Right Hand of *God* could bring to paſs; it concerns them (I ſay) to ſhew that they have a true Senſe of *Religion* and *Conſcience*, in practiſing an *Unintereſſed* and *Undiſſem-*

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bled Obedience to their Sovereign Lord *King William*; for this is all the Requital and Compenſation they can make to *His Majeſty* for all his Favours, and Care of them, and would in ſome meaſure *ſweeten* and *aleviate* the Burthen of them.

Shall I be allow'd to ſay one thing without Offence, or Imputation of Flattery; That if ever any *King* might expect *Chearful* Obedience from us for his *Own* ſake, or claim it for *God*'s ſake, *King William* that now Governs us may do it juſtly; *His Majeſty's Great and Glorious Undertaking, His Indefatigable Pains, His Toilſom Days, His Reſtleſs Nights, His Anxious Cares in preventing the Deſigns of Ambitious Rival Princes, His Rare and Diſtinguiſh'd Wiſdom and Conduct*, has bleſs'd us with ſo *happy* a Change, that even our *Intereſt* combines with our *Duty*, and is complicated with it.

Bleſſed be God, we have now a *King* that is a *Defender of our Faith*, a *Sovereign* to whom it hath ſo far approv'd it ſelf, as he hath given the Nation all imaginable Security

of our *Religion*, *Laws* and *Properties*, and that they ſhall never be again in danger of being *depriv'd* of them for the future; in which all good Men *Rejoice* and *Triumph*, and no Men doubt the Sincerity of it, but thoſe whoſe own Guilt renders them always *Suſpitious*, and *Diffident* of all Mankind. Add hereto, that as His Majeſty's Perſonal Merits has engag'd our Obedience, ſo are we alſo oblig'd to it by that Singular *Providence* that has ſtill attended, and Miracles of it *guarded* his Sacred Perſon through all the Fatigues and Dangers of War, and ſet His Majeſty on a ſteady Throne in *Peace*.

How Plain and Viſible then is the Argument for *Obedience* to his *Sovereignty* in our Caſe? And how effectually ought it to work upon *this* Generation, when the greateſt Favours and Kindneſſes on Earth *Invite*, and when *Miracles* from Heaven command our *Duty* and *Obedience* to him.

Thus are we oblig'd to obey *King William* for his own ſake: It remains alſo as a Duty upon us, that

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we obey His Majeſty for *God*'s ſake, and that, I hope, will keep it firm in this wavering Generation: I mean, when our Subjection is founded where it truly ought to be, *viz. upon Reaſons of Religion, upon Principles of Conſcience, and Duty to God*; which St. *Peter* calls *Submitting for the Lord's ſake*. And I hope I need not dwell long upon this Head amongſt Chriſtians; for if the plain Principles of the *New Teſtament* may be allow'd to be a Rule of *Conſcience*, and *God*'s immediate Commands do lay any *Obligations* upon us, then it is evident that Men are as immediately ty'd to the Duty of Obedience to their Prince in point of *Conſcience*, as to any other Duty whatſoever. Let Conſcience be as *Free* as Men aſſert it to be, and Accountable to God only, yet it cannot be diſpenc'd withall in this Duty: For if *Government* be *God*'s Inſtitution, *Kings* his *Vicegerents*, and that he hath charg'd *all Men* to be obedient to them, and their Lawful Commands, upon pain of *Damnation*, and his higheſt Diſpleaſure; then I am ſure, if Conſcience be an

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honeſt Reſpect to *God* and his *Laws*, it muſt neceſſarily oblige all Men in this Inſtance. If St. *Paul* and St. *Peter* underſtood the Obligation of *Conſcience*, or were able to direct the Obedience of it, no more need be added on this Subject, than to deſire Men to open their *Bibles*, and Read their Duty from thoſe Apoſtles; tho' if need were, I might appeal to the *Old Teſtament*, the *Doctrine* and *Example* of the Bleſſed *Jeſus* in the *New*, the Conſonant *Doctrine*, and *Practice* too, of the *Antient* and *Beſt* Chriſtians, to Vouch the Truth of Obedience to *Kings* for the Lord's ſake: And therefore I ſhall cloſe up this Diſcourſe with my Hearty Wiſhes

That God Almighty would pleaſe to *Bleſs*, *Preſerve*, *Protect* and *Keep King William*, that we may long enjoy him, and all thoſe *Great* and *Invaluable* Bleſſings which, by him, God has vouchſafed to us: And " that God would ſo Rule the Heart " of his Choſen Servant *William*, " our King and Governour, that he " knowing whoſe Miniſter he is, " may above all things ſeek his

" Honour

" Honour and Glory: And that we,
" and all his Subjects, duly confi-
" dering whoſe Authority he hath,
" may faithfully Serve, Honour,
" and Humbly Obey him, in God,
" and for God, according to his
" Bleſſed Word and Ordinance.

FINIS.

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